INSTITUTIONEN FÖR ALLMÄN OCH JÄMFÖRANDE ETNOGRAFI
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Occasional Papers II

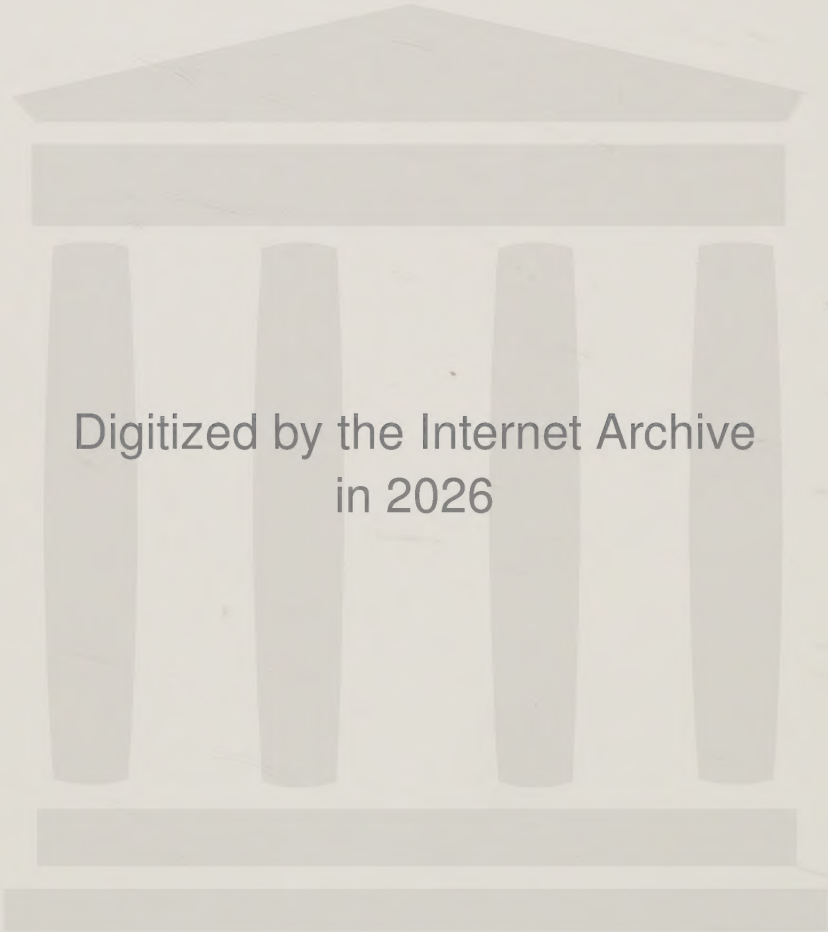
ESKIMO UNDERGROUND

Socio-Cultural Change in the Canadian Central Arctic

BY

Robert G. Williamson

Uppsala 1974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ESKIMO UNDERGROUND

Socio-Cultural Change in the Canadian Central Arctic

Inaugural Dissertation

by due permission of the Faculty of Arts
of the Royal University of Uppsala, to be publicly discussed
in the lecture hall VIII of the University
on May 18, 1974, at 10 a.m.,
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

ROBERT G. WILLIAMSON

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Robert G. Williamson

Eskimo Underground

Socio-Cultural Change in the Canadian Central Arctic

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To Jeannie

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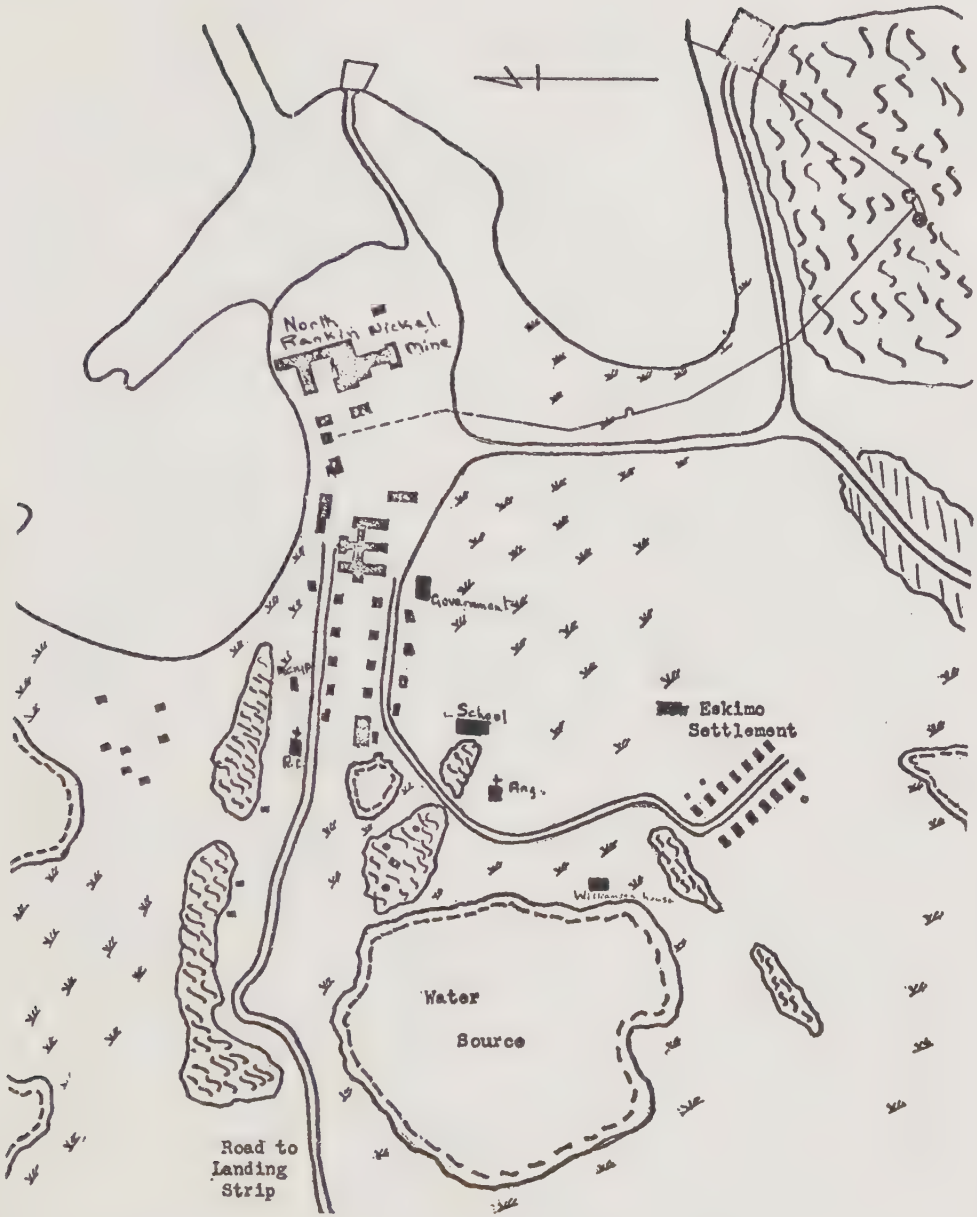


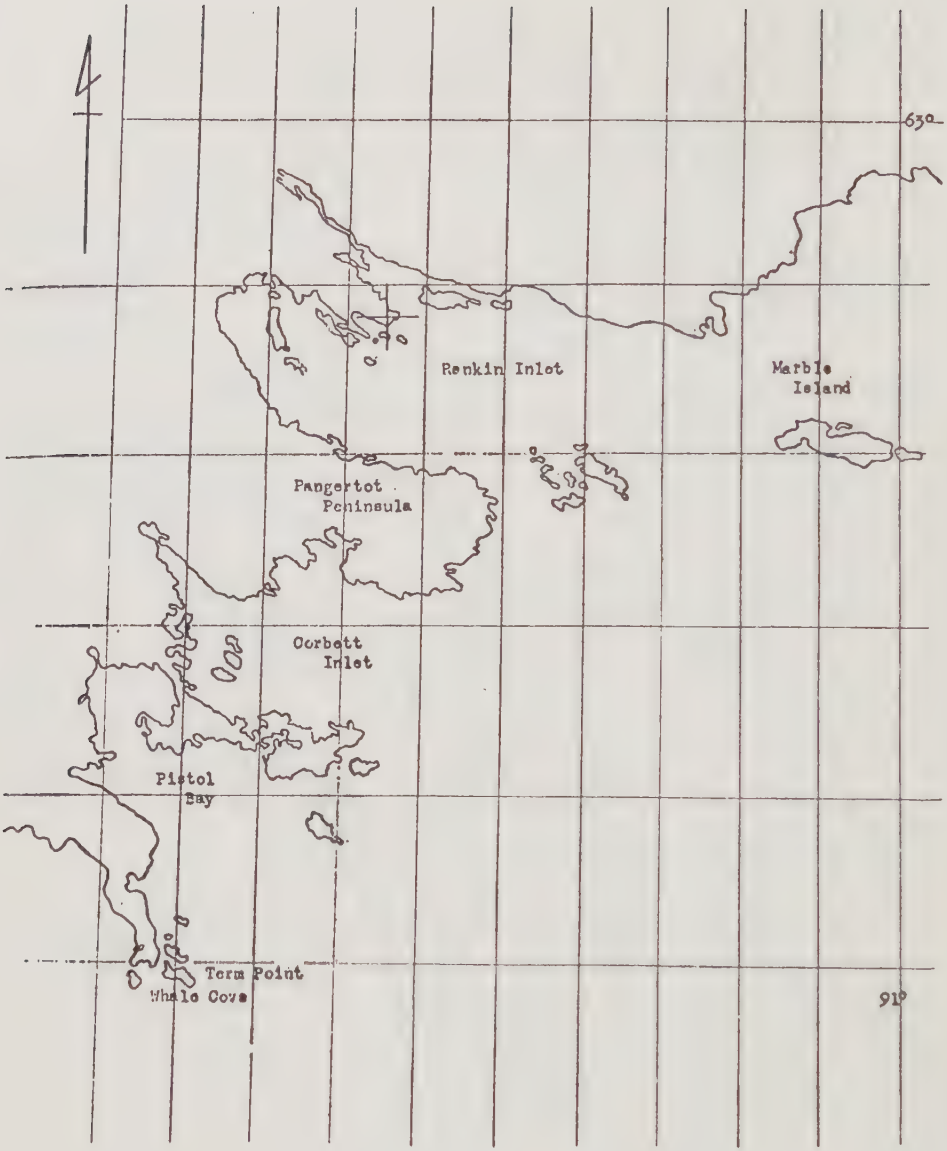
Figure 1. Location of the Eskimo Settlement in Relation to White Settlements in Rankin Inlet, N.W.T. c. 1959: Scale: 1 cm = .03 km.

Map 1. Major centres of Eskimo relocation in Canada.

Map 2. District of Keewatin showing the distribution of Eskimo sub-cultural groups.
Scale: 1 cm = 96.60 km.

Map 3. Scale: 1 cm = 32.2 km.

Map 4. District of Keewatin indicating administrative regions and location of major Eskimo settlements.



Map 5. Rankin Inlet and adjacent fjords. Scale: 1 cm = 30 km.

FORWARD

The production of this piece of writing has been made possible by so wide a variety of people and circumstances that no spread of sentences can, in the compass of this format—fully express the extent of my indebtedness. One wonders indeed how far back one should go. Certainly I should recognize the inspiration first of my own original family. They have given me more than I can speak of in public, both parents and brother. I could never hope to be as good a man as my brother.

Then too I am regretful that it has come to be regarded as almost trite for a man dedicating a book—to make this gesture toward his wife with words that familiarity tends to undervalue, because those words in my case, are found to be inadequate in setting forth with sufficient force—the degree to which I have reason to appreciate her part in all of this. As I write—it is she who is carrying on the work in the Arctic, and she whose willing and cheerful backing of my independence in the Arctic—made this study possible in the first place.

Included amongst the most basic human beings in my learning experience must be so many northerners, that no listing would be adequate. Only those who know these people can begin to understand the importance of such personalities as Kakasil, Abraham Okpik, Kaluraut, Ussak, Kablaalik, Tautungi, Qituksimuk, Unaaluk, Saalikutak, Viivi, Panigusil, Ajaruak, Annaruak, Siksik, Nilaulak, Angutitua, Tittak, Ajarani, Qanayuk and Qavik. And there are so many others—and all have taught me much, over the years of dogteam travel and iglu life, and the long storm-bound days and cold-crackling nights of measured, smoke-eased talking, meaning piling on meaning in the dry, witty, wise and deeply-experienced holophrastic contrapuntalism of Eskimo conversation. They have given so much.

Very important in my academic life has been, first, a scholar, a friend and a working-companion for whom I have deep affection, Dr Walter O. Kupsch. No less close in recent years, and of real personal value to me in this last year in Sweden—has been his successor in the Institute for Northern Studies—Dr Robert M. Bone. He understands. My companions in the Department of Anthropology have meant a lot to me, from the hearty northern-style friendship and high aspiration of Dr James Millar—to the scholary soundness, lucidity of mind and expression and human warmth of Dr Mary Marino. Beyond that group, I cannot ever give less than the most sincere and hearty thanks in

appreciation of the constant interest and personal kindliness of Dr J. W. T. Spinks, whom I am happy to have as a friend and a companion in life-long concern with the north. He it was—after all—who founded my Institute, and has maintained his participation always, ever since. It is hard to speak easily about the powerful feeling of comradeship and high regard I feel for Dr Lloyd Barber, a committed northerner. The encouragement of that powerful personality, penetrating intellect, driving interest and warm friendliness has meant more to me than I am able to say. And I feel strongly about the deep decency and clear-headed support of Dr Newman Haslam, the cool-headed and warmly honest humanity of Dr Douglas Cherry, and the crackling encouragement of Dr Robert W. Begg. I will not forget the stimulus and pleasure of the Begg visit to the Arctic, and the strong-minded interest he has shown in northern research ever since. I would like to go back some years before my association with the University of Saskatchewan, and record my intellectual and human gratitude to Dr John Porter, Dr June Helm, and Dr Muni Frumhartz. Still in connection with Carleton University, I think most kindly of Professor Victor Valentine; and I hope that all that I have written in this piece, will at least begin to demonstrate the regard I have for a loveable friend and really sound contributor to contemporary thinking about northern research, Dr Frank Vallee. His influence will be discernable in the text—for all who know him and feel about him so aimiably—as I do.

I have the most practical reasons to be grateful to the Canada Council for the two grants that have made this study and this publication possible. This is more than a token recognition—because I have come to perceive on the broadest sociological scale the significance of the Council to the intellectual quality of Canada, and at the same time have received really personal kindness, forebearance, thoughtfulness and efficiency in my dealings with the staff of the Council.

I have mentioned in several places the name of Mitsuru Shimpo, with whom it was a great pleasure to work in the Centre for Community Studies some years ago. Our collaboration was fruitful for both of us, and I am happy to recognize the central significance of his thinking in the development of my work following our Kamsack writing, including this present volume.

I will never forget a man who died as tragically as he lived, but must one day receive full recognition for his dedicated pursuit of Eskimo traditional knowledge, and whose passionate search gave him ancient knowledge that the old ones of the Eskimo themselves respected. I speak of Svend Frederiksen.

A man who has been a friend, and a powerful voice in the northern and cross-cultural education fields of interest for years—has been Dr André Renaud. His work and inspiration should be most heartily recorded.

It will perhaps be thought by readers of this text that the writer might, in personal

expression of opinion outside of the objective observations normal to this form of writing—be tempted to speak critically of the old Department of Northern Affairs. In this text, direct recording of facts without any loading of personal opinion—has of course been the only way that the material can conscientiously be presented. It should then be pointed out that the writer has been acquainted over the years with employees of that Department and its administrative successors—in a way which should permit of no bias. The old D.N.A. and it's successors have encouraged and contained some insensitive and stupid people, with bad judgement and bad principles, within that government brethren—I am happy to acknowledge some fine people, good minds, hard workers and public servants in the best sense. Many are deeply-liked friends, all of whom in various ways have made their contribution to this study. There are those who will understand when without naming them, I appreciate them, and too record to openly the great regard I have for Bent Sivertz, Graham Rowley, Moose Kerr, Keith Crowe, Jean Fournier, Jean Chrétien, Robert Green and Neil Faulkner. Bent Sivertz, a great brave heart and visionary—has only to wait for honest history; Graham Rowley has the experience, the courage and the prescience to write it, and Jean Chrétien is still making it. In the Canadian context—again, I must say how personally important to me and my family—has been the profound friendship and warm wisdom of Dr and Dr (Mrs) A. H. Stevens and their family, now of Bonn, West Germany, but earlier a part of the modern Arctic story.

It may perhaps seem almost a banality for a professor like me to speak of his debt to his students—but I do not hesitate to assert again how much I have learned in association with my students. I like teaching, and I so often end by becoming fond of my students, (though some who have been victims of my marking might wonder)—and can only say that their stimulus and pleasurable association has been part of the process of the creation of this modest volume symbolically perhaps, I will mention only one, because of a special contribution to the sharpening of the intellect, the improvement of happiness in a number of northern families that the exceptional perceptiveness and sensivity of this person has touched, and a genuine warmth and honesty and loyalty to the people that she has dedicated herself to—I mean the Harvard graduate known to the Eskimo simply as the Kabluna "daughter" of Tautungi.

And mention of Harvard and my students brings me to a Dane who knows them both, and knows the Eskimo language and the realities of the past and present with an agonizing honesty and a thorough experientially-based insight which I esteem enormously. I refer to Professor Bent Jensen, who is more than a friend, but a good example to all of how solid scientific integrity can also be of real service to the human community. Like me, he recognizes so much the significance of his good and wise wife in all that they have achieved. They, indeed, we all, have much yet to do.

I come now to Sweden, where I have worked, researched, taught and learnt, and have been made to feel so welcome and at home. When I return to my own home in Canada, I shall take with me the most powerful memories of kindness and comradeship, and the strongest feeling of appreciation academically and humanly—for Dr Professor Sture Lagercrantz outstandingly, and Dr Lars Sundström most particularly and personally. Lasse Sundström's intellect, scholarship, insight and consistant companionship has been deeply valued by me and my family. I remember too the help and friendliness of Dr Kerstin Eidlitz, Anders Lööv, Gunilla Sandström, Gunilla Westerlund, Professor Stig Wikander and the staff of the great Carolina library. My earliest memories of Sweden, really most happy ones, are connected with Dr Carl Gösta and Rede Widstrand. They have gone on adding to that happiness, and their friendship in every way has been most warm and meaningful. So many other Swedish scholars, students and friends have made my stay here so worthwhile and happy, that paper is insufficient to list them. I can only record again my sincere gratitude to them all.

And I want to end as I began, with little words, but great feeling for all that I owe my wife, Jean. Of course it could not ever be expressed appropriately, but many will understand.

The work which follows is a modest and rough-hewn body of material taken out of a great deal and many years of Arctic field work and analytical treatment. It represents only a small part of further work. For all its shortcomings only I am responsible, and for such use or interest as it may have, all of the people I have mentioned and many more have contributed intellectually and humanly in aways for which I will always be profoundly thankful.

Uppsala, Sweden, May 18th 1974

R. G. Williamson

INTRODUCTION

The setting of this report is in the District of Keewatin of the Northwest Territories of Canada, with the main focus of attention the recent settlement of Rankin Inlet, near the north-west corner of Hudson's Bay, on the coast of a central Arctic area commonly called the Barren Lands. Now the location of the Arctic Research and Training Centre of the Institute for Northern Studies of the University of Saskatchewan, this settlement was already showing itself at the beginning of the 1960's, as a useful setting in which to study many aspects of the folk-group urbanisation and culture-change processes increasingly common globally. These processes are now characteristic of that northern circum-polar region traditionally populated by hunters and herdsmen. It might well now be called the "Fourth World", a phrase which symbolises the combination of circumstances typical of under-developed areas elsewhere, occuring nevertheless in this case in "peripheral" regions of affluent northern nations, where at the same time problems of climate and logistics add a further element of distinctiveness.

While Rankin Inlet has, of course, its own unique history and character, much that has transpired there can serve as a source of insight into many culture contact situations, of some use perhaps theoretically, as a contribution to the case-history files, and for the use of policy-makers and implementers. It is for all of the above reasons that this study has been produced.

The Arctic region discussed in this report compromises the central part of the Northwest Territories, west and north-west of Hudson Bay. It is the traditional range of several Eskimo sub-cultural groups, which will be detailed below. For the purposes of this study, however, they may be divided rather simplistically, but significantly, into two main groups—those of the coastal technological tradition, and those of the inland technological tradition. This type of distinction is necessary in that, although a substantial number of the "inland" Eskimo still live in the interior, there are significant numbers who now live on the coast, but have derived and continue substantially to derive their indigenous sustenance from terrestrial rather than pelagic sources.

The total population figure for Keewatin is set forth elsewhere in this report, as is the distribution amongst the seven settlements which are located in the natural geographic region. The purpose in this section is to give a brief geographical and cultural description of the total region, and later in the report to outline the history of each community

as it has affected the condition of the indigenous people. To the west of the rocky, low-lying coast of Hudson's Bay stretch rolling tundra plains. The region is characterized by a low-relief tundra environment over the heavily-glaciated, mainly Precambrian bedrock. The rolling topography is interrupted by eskers, rocky outcrops, and thousands of lakes and streams.

The climate is typically more severe than most parts of the Canadian Arctic, with minimum temperatures less than −60°F, and the sea's ice-free period extends normally from the third week in July until mid-October. At all temperatures wind is a constant factor in Keewatin, with velocities rarely below 12 to 15 standard miles per hour, and heavy storms in all seasons not infrequent.

Eskimo Population of Keewatin Region

(As of May 15, 1970)

Eskimo Point	549	Coral Harbour	338
Whale Cove	193	Repulse Bay	220
Rankin Inlet	475	Baker Lake	620
Chesterfield Inlet	220		

(Census figures derived from Records of Regional H.Q., Govt. of the N.W.T., Churchill, Manitoba.)

Early in the 1960's, the Federal Department of Northern Affairs circulated in the Eskimo language a statement that the Eastern Arctic of Canada was going to be renamed, (as part of a constitutional change scheme which never came to fruition), and set forth a list of names from which the northern people were permitted to make a choice. A group of Rankin Inlet men prepared a written reply rejecting all of the names because each was some sort of descriptive generalisation which did not accord with their more complex knowledge of the truth of their country. The same men would undoubtedly reject the white man's use of the term, the "Barren Lands" as sufficiently descriptive of their habitat for similar reasons. Though many have memories of winters of privation and indeed of death by starvation in their midst, particularly inland, they also recount times of plenty when the caribou came in large herds, and the streams and lakes were fat with fish. Nevertheless, the period covered by this report co-incides with a time of early attempts at adjustment to macro-social living on the part of most of the Keewatin population, shortly after several years of serious food shortages, occasioning loss of life in several inland areas of the Keewatin District.

At the same time it should be pointed out that the Canadian Government had already begun to embark in some areas on a country-wide programme Arctic urbanisation. This

was so that the indigenous population from the Mackenzie Delta in the west, to Baffin Island and the Ungava Peninsular in the east—could ultimately participate in the then-recent policies designed to provide more physically secure living conditions, schooling for the children, health services, and greater ease of administration for the civil service burgeoning in Ottawa and moving too in increasing numbers into the north. Before 1953, the Government presence in the Arctic was largely limited to representation by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in scattered batchelor detachments established usually adjacent to trading posts and missions. They functioned as Sub-Registrars of Vital Statistics, Game Officers, and often undertook other aid services sporadically, according to their own judgement, resourcefulness and motivation. Their law-keeping duties amidst the Eskimo were minimal, and most Arctic detachments went for years without crime or misdemeanor of any order on their records. In fact in the minds of many policy-makers in Ottawa, the R.C.M.P. presence in the Arctic, plus the annual one-day visits of the ship-borne Officer-in-Charge of the Eastern Arctic Patrol, (carried until the early 50's on a Hudson's Bay Company supply vessel)—was more a matter of maintaining sovereignty than anything else. Military personnel, mainly American, had occupied a few locations, such as Southampton Island, Ft. Chimo and Frobisher Bay during World War II, and the Canadian Corps of Signals had manned the meteorological station at Ennadai Lake, but by the mid-fifties, the only government employees living in the Eskimo-occupied Arctic other than the R.C.M.P. officers—were the staff of a dozen widely-separated Department of Transport weather stations.

Thus it is that some discussion remains surrounding the motivations of earlier Canadian administrations concerning its northern people, there being a widespread belief that they were impelled to greater activity by the Parliamentary and public stir created by the widespread impact of the popular Canadian writer and controvertialist Farley Mowat, particularly his early book describing the plight of the Ahiamiut of the south Keewatin.[1] Others are inclined to question the motivations of the popular writer, and suggest that the Government had already begun to plan an increase of interest in the north. Suffice it to say that the crucial turning-point in the history of the northern Canadian people, signalled by the creation of the Federal Department of Northern Affairs in 1953—was marked in the Parliamentary debate on the enactment of the Department—by the admission on the part of the Prime Minister of the time that until this moment, the nation's administration of its northern territories had been characterised by some degree of "absence of mind". After 1953, all that changed.

A somewhat more detailed history of the development of contact with the Eskimo is part of the body of this report. However, a few observations of a broader nature seem

[1] MOWAT, F. *The People of The Deer*. McCLELLAND & STEWART. Toronto 1950.

appropriate at this point of introduction. Until the inception of the programmes begun mainly by the new Department, the so-called settlements had consisted mainly of the buildings of the fur traders, the R.C.M.P. and the Christians missions. They clustered together for convenience and company at locations most often chosen by the fur trade, (usually the first agency on the ground), for reasons of access to the surrounding Eskimo population, though all agencies encouraged the people to stay "out on the land", for their own economic and moral good. Generally the site was chosen for these reasons of access, and for good anchorage for the annual supply ship, settlement water supply, and shelter. There was every reason to believe that the site facilities should never need to be adequate for the needs of more than a couple of dozen people—i.e., the various agency representitives and the families of their Eskimo helpers, (or "post servants"—as they were known as by the Hudson's Bay Co.). Indeed, good building ground and water supply did not exceed adequacy for such limited numbers, in several existing settlement locations, e.g. Eskimo Point. However, though the Government did facilitate the creation of a few new settlements in such places as Grise Fjord, (beginning at Craig Harbour), on Ellesmere Island, Resolute Bay on Cornwallis Island, Whale Cove in Keewatin, and Broughton Island in Baffin Land, most new Government establishments grew up alongside the buildings of the older agencies, and most of the settlements had achieved some size before the need for site justification and extensive and careful planning became fully realised to the point of serious implementation.

Usually it was a small Government day-school building and teacherage which first appeared in the settlements, with often a single teacher undertaking many record-keeping and aid responsibilities beyond those of child education. There followed a steady build-up of administrative and service personnel, each increasingly compartmentalised to deal with the various categories of competance and responsibility; and at the same time there was a series of housing programmes to accomodate the Eskimo people who were now actively encouraged to move "off the land" into the settlements. This was the trend throughout the Arctic, no less in Keewatin than elsewhere. Rankin Inlet, which grew up around a short-lived nickel mine, was, however, the first Arctic location of a private enterprise industrial development in northern Canada, though comparable outbursts of intense activity on relatively large scale occurred in other areas, when, during 1955 and the years that followed, the sites of the Distant Early Warning radar line across Northern North America—suddenly sprang up and drew in Eskimo from nearby and even far-away areas. Thus Keewatin generally and Rankin Inlet specifically—provides a mirror and microcosm of what was happening all across the Canadian North, with comparable situations indeed in Alaska and Greenland. It is then also for these reasons that a description and analysis of a significant period in the recent history of the people in this area is considered to be of some interest and use, in

terms of contemporary anthropology, social analysis and considerations of administration—all approached with an attempt at providing such contributions in a scientific context.

With this introductory orientation then, it may be appropriate to now provide a framework for the cultural facts and dynamics which we are about to consider.

Frame of Reference

Let "community" be defined as a relatively small human aggregation with an interrelated and functional range of common identifications and interests. Its people are physically located around a relatively small geographical area, and are activated by a relatively large degree of shared economic, cultural and organisational needs, which normally motivate various forms of internally-generated group action to meet these needs.

It is now proposed to set forth a number of propositions, mainly the product of the writer's observations, though insofar as they sometimes are also theoretical generalisations, many can be found in that form in the literature of socio-cultural change. Nevertheless, each proposition is a direct reflection of the situation in Keewatin during the period under study, (1955–1963).

I believe that a sense of "community", and any community-oriented action associated with that sense, does not necessarily develop organically or spontaneously among the population of a newly-established, modern-industry-oriented location set up among preliterate people indigenous to the area, even when profound acculturative forces carried with industrialisation confront the majority of the people with similar force. This lack of cohesion is particularly notable where sub-group heterogeneity is a significant factor and previous acculturative influences have had unequal impact.

I believe that the process of acculturation develops ambivalences and social and mental strains on all sides (among both the non-dominant and the dominant societies) involved in the confrontation of cultures, though most notably among the members of the non-dominant group. I believe that re-interpretation and re-organisation of original values and structures occurs in all of the societies involved, both indigenous and non-indigenous, varying relatively, however, in the degree of change according to the technological and social skills required in the maximisation of the local situation.

I believe that the non-dominant culture seeks, because not only of ethnocentricity, but because of a basic need to retain reassuring and familiar patterns in a strange and perturbing situation—to defend itself from too-penetrating incursions of the alien value-system, by apparent acceptance of the dominant system and by passivity and withdrawal.

I believe that in fact even though in a contact situation such as the one described here,

one macro-culture confronts and challenges another—this inter-action does not readily draw together sub-groups within those macro-cultures, despite the fact that greater social cohesion is apparently in the interests of all involved. I think that this is because the very strangeness of the situation strengthens the need for sub-group internal cohesion, particularly where such sub-group orientations have a long socio-historical tradition, and very particularly where the culture has no tradition of macro-community sociability.

I believe that when a sense of responsibility to exterior and distant interests predicates and governs the judgements and actions of the controlling forces within the settlement—the process of in-community commitment and involvement is further inhibited, particularly when these forces function to limit both self-determination within the settlement, and prevent too the public ventilation of needs and ideas in the larger forums of the country.

I believe that in Keewatin, modern technological facility and material affluence had an excessive influence in winning the appreciation of the non-dominant Eskimo people, particularly where the non-dominant people were in an economically severely-deprived condition. By "appreciation" is meant the readiness to attempt to derive benefit from the economic advantages of the dominant group's value system—to the extent of some acceptance of invidious comparisons with the value system of the non-dominant group. It is believed that traditional Eskimo adaptability aids this process.

I believe that in examining an acculturation process among the Canadian Eskimos, (as in fact in similar enquiries with most other indigenous populations)—the elementary beginnings of understanding must be based on knowledge of the traditionalistic Eskimo non-material culture, including the language, and the process of change analysed as seen from the Eskimo point of view. This means among other things the acceptance as a frame of reference the principal focus of Eskimo social orientation, the family. It is hoped that the writer will have an opportunity to develop this approach with much greater rigour in subsequent work, but the conditions set for this particular report require a somewhat wider purview, though in fact it would be preferable to begin with the family and move out from a series of family studies to an understanding of the present Eskimo "community". Though this family-oriented understanding will remain implicit in the foregoing considerations—it will be necessary herein to move from a wide survey of the component sub-groups from which the Rankin Inlet population is drawn, with some details of the Eskimo non-material culture in the indigenous situation, to a description of social relationships between the sub-groups, and between them and the dominant society in the new industrial location.

As part of the brief historical background of the Keewatin Eskimo, there will be a survey of the non-material culture, including the Eskimo concepts of thought-signifi-

cance, traditional religion, the naming system, the value system, concepts of time, space and calculation; social structure, social control, socialisation, marriage, and attitudes toward hunting.

Next it will be necessary to sketch the history of early acculturation phases, with specific reference to the fur trade and the missions. The importance of illness, and the development of the settlements will also be reflected. In this regard it will be necessary to refer briefly to all of the Keewatin settlements, including a number of now-abandoned posts.

This is followed by a narrative account of the development of the new industrial community at Rankin Inlet. In this will be traced the beginnings and the development of the North Rankin Nickel Mine, population movement, the physical layout of the settlement, the growth of government services, the changes in employment policies and the types of employment, and also the history of the Keewatin Re-establishent Project.

Following this will be a brief analysis of an extensive social history and future-aspiration enquiry carried out by the writer in the winter of 1960/61.

It will then be necessary to give some attention to social relations in the Rankin settlement, among the dialect sub-groups, between the two main ethnic groups, and between the various white agencies in the settlement. Some reference will be made to the effect of inter-group relations within each of the two societies, on the lives of the other.

This will lead the narrative to the matter of social organisation in the settlement, both formal and informal, covering the patterns of the major organisations, the various attempts at community organisation, politics and co-operatives.

At this point it would seem more than necessary to readjust the focus of the narrative to look again at the Eskimo family in the setting of the "large" industrial population-concentration. The shape of the study will then have developed from the general cultural, historical and social environment in which the Rankin Inlet Eskimo family has been moving to direct focus on the family itself—it being assumed that we will at that point be better able to understand the patterns of the more recent family in the light of what has already been offered as background. Under consideration will be the increasing significance of the nuclear family, the dissipation of traditional patterns of authority, the reinterpretation of values, the changes in the sources and types of socialisation, marriage, the apparent "dysfunctionalisation" of women, and the incidence of strains and ambivalences in the individuals in the family setting.

Moving back then to the narrative of Rankin Inlet economic history for a brief rounding-off of some developments following soon after the close-down of the nickel mine, it seems reasonable to review the work of the Canadian Government in this regard, wherein the main economic responsibility rested upon the Federal Department

of Northern Affairs. In this context some reference will be made to Social Assistance ("Relief"), art and handicrafts, renewable resource harvesting, vocational training and Eskimo employment by white agencies.

There will follow some observations on the manifestations of the Eskimo form of what I will call the Social Protection Response, (which is really a less psychologically-oriented-sounding phrase, used experimentally here, in place of the term "self-defence mechanism" which was used in the Kamsack, Saskatchewan study, Shimpo, M, and Williamson, R. G., *Socio-Cultural Disintegration Amongst the Fringe Saulteaux*, Centre for Community Studies, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. 1965), but which stands for the same concept. Toward the end of our writing of the Kamsack report, Shimpo and this writer began to feel that our phrase—"the self-defense mechanism" did not connote exactly what we had in mind—as the concept is neither mechanistic nor descriptive of something which works mechanically, nor did we conceive of it as being a purely self-oriented response, but rather as a combination of individual protectiveness and defense of the values of the group which inhere in the responses of people involved in representational confrontation between cultures. That is to say—very frequently in contacts between the indigenous person and the dominant-society individual, both are responding to each other firstly as representitives of an alien culture, (and with pre-conditioned attitudes therefore), and only secondarily in terms of individual personalities. Moreover, a number of significant manifestations of this concept are group-behaviour phenomena, and yet again, the behaviour of an individual which might be characterized by this term is in some cases a set of responses evinced on behalf of a group rather than on behalf of the individual. We are concerned here with a sociological concept, dealing with socially-defined situations, rather than with the mechanism of the individual psyche—which might be thought to be what is connoted by the phrase "self-defense mechanism". Thus I have coined the phrase, Social Protection Response.

Under this heading will come reconsideration of the traditional values and types of behaviour, with special reference to the earlier account of the pre-industrial phases of the acculturation history, to observe indices of the Eskimo Social Protection Response in that period, and finally to indicate manifestations of that response in the recent era. Instances of non-assertion, compromise, ingratiation, minimal response, physical withdrawal, non-commital and opinion testing—will be offered. The manifestation of this response in terms of dialect-group social relations will be examined, first as to in-group solidarity and then as to developing ethnic-group awareness and increasing inter-group sociability.

It will be necessary to recognise the Eskimo attitudes toward the immediate future and the distant future, and in this context remark on the relative effectiveness of this response, (in terms of social integration)—in both time dimensions. It will be suggested that while

the Social Protection Response may be effective for the satisfaction of immediate needs, it has an inhibiting effect on social adjustment over the long term. Again it will be necessary to draw upon the pre-industrial era for sources of observation to support this.

By this point in the narrative, it should have become obvious that the problems of language are very significant, not only in the matter of inter-group social relations, but also in that for the Eskimo, their language is vitally important as the vehicle for the traditions upon which they depend for support in attempting to comprehend and engage the problems of their present. The need for personal and group identification with something valued and respected in the larger world as well as within the group—is met still through the use of the language, but it will be necessary to make some observations on the recent process of devaluation of the Eskimo language by the dominant culture, on the use and the problems of interpreters, and very basically—on the way the Eskimo language as a symbolic system of cognition affects the perceptions and attitudes of the people for whom it is the matrix of thought.

The analytical summary will have to deal, through briefly, with the concept of societal shock and the social phenomenon of what I call the Truncated Eskimo. Again here reference, will be made to the trend toward the nuclearity of the family, alienation from both the past and the future, and the positive and damaging aspects of individuation.

It may be interesting in this analytical summary to test once again the notions which Shimpo and I lifted out of the Thomas and Znaniecki classic and applied to the socio-culturally disintegrated Saulteaux—I refer to the special application of the concept of common human desires. First this idea will used to try its validity in categorising important facets of traditional behaviour, such as sharing, such institutions as shamanism and such responses as adaptability. It will than be important to follow through these desires as they may be manifested in the situation of the period under study, and finally to attempt some perception of the degree to which, at this stage, change from the more traditional patterns has taken place, with some assessment of the significance of the changes.

This narrative will be brought to an end with a section on the "non-community" as it as been observed in Rankin Inlet. This will be again in the form of an analytic summary. It will be necessary to make observations of the phenomenon of a somewhat disintegrated white sub-society governing a socially unintegrated and culturally disintegrating Eskimo aggregation. Some comment will be necessary on the way in which Eskimo sub-groups relate in some ways more directly with the alien culture than with other sub-groups. The inhibitions, both formal and informal, to community development among both the Eskimo and the whites—will be briefly discussed.

It is recognized that in any culture contact situation, discrete emphasis on the in-

digenous population alone, while providing vital cultural depth to acculturation study—is not enough. A great need remains for a complementary anthropological study of the white people living in the Arctic, with similar attention to cultural conditioning, including such factors as beliefs, values, attitudes, social and economic history and social structure. This should include a thorough analysis of the Department of Northern Affairs and its administrative successors. Finally, each of these studies needs to be brought together in a very major work of social and cultural analysis of the contemporary Canadian Arctic. A vital counterpoint to all of this work would be up-to-date economic study, which leads one's thinking back inevitably to the regional approach taken in the background to this report, but more importantly—to an inter-disciplinary long-term regional research programme. This present narrative is no more than a brief and incomplete survey presented to provide a narrow and temporary foot-bridge by which further research material might possibly be reached.

PART ONE

CHAPTER I

Historical Background

Pre-history

The Eskimo are a Mongoloid group of people, who are the products of migrations from northern Asia dating back some five thousand years. While a great deal more archaeological research remains yet to be done in the Arctic, there is already considerable evidence that the ancestors of the Eskimo people had already developed a northern technology before they started to move across the Bering Strait from Siberia into north-western Alaska. It is known that proto-Eskimo groups were already settling in areas of Arctic Canada, far removed from the Alaskan "cradle of Eskimo culture", at least four thousand years ago. The most important early "Eskimo" culture, the Dorset culture, has been discovered in many parts of the Arctic including Greenland and Newfoundland, dating back to about 800 B.C.

The Eskimo of today are the descendents of the Thule Culture, a very dynamic group of migrants whose culture was identifiably different from that of the Dorset people, and who moved into the North American Arctic somewhere around the year 1000 A.D. How quickly the people of Dorset origin disappeared is not known, but certainly little evidence has been found of their continued existence as a separate group much beyond that date. Other than the ancient artifacts, the only vestigial remains of the Dorset people to be found in the Arctic today are the references in the folk-lore of contemporary Eskimo to the Tunik people, and perhaps, (most speculatively) in some physiological types.

Beginning most likely in the ninth century A.D., the Thule people moved in small groups eastward from Alaska along the Arctic coast, and some then went up on through the Queen Elizabeth Archipelago toward northwestern Greenland. Certainly there is evidence of Thule culture people in residence in that area by the eleventh century. As the Thule culture-bearers moved along the Arctic coasts, the whole area of the Canadian Arctic became identifiable as the habitat of these recently-arrived Eskimo people. Their artifacts have been found on the Labrador coast, and there is even some suggestion that for short fishing expeditions they penetrated into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and perhaps

some distance up the river. Like the Dorset people whom they absorbed or replaced, the ancestors of the present Eskimo were seal hunters, walrus hunters, whale hunters, fishermen, and then also made expeditions inland, sometimes wintering there, to make use of the herds of caribou. One very significant difference between the ancient Dorset people and the Thule people was that the latter possessed dogs, and were thus able to travel over larger distances with greater ease, and also in the hunting of seal through the ice in the winter, they had the extra aid of the dogs' sense of smell. Nevertheless the most notable feature of the Thule culture at its zenith was the development of a sophisticated and advanced technology for the hunting of the large baleen-bearing whales.

Notions of the Dorset non-material culture remain largely speculative, but it is most likely that the Thule people spoke the Eskimo language essentially as we know it now, and they were in possession of such items of technology as are now considered typically Eskimo, such as sled dogs, long sled-dog whips, fishing spears and jiggers, the laminated compound bows made of caribou or musk-ox horn, kayaks, and open skin boats propelled by women, known as "umiaks"; and it is most likely that it was the Thule people who developed the technique of building houses from blocks of wind-hardened snow.

It may not be insignificant to realise that the Canadian Eskimos of the last two or three hundred years are in fact the members of a culturally-impoverished and less-well-established and integrated society. In the one hundred years from about the mid-seventeenth century until the middle of the last century, the climate in the Arctic was exceptionally cold. Previous even to this period, however, there is evidence that the Thule people were undergoing a process of economic difficulty and social dispersal. In their richest days, the whale hunting Thule people were able to live in relatively large settlements in semi-permanent and strong dwellings made of stone and turf, framed with whale-bone, depending very largely on the enormous quantities of meat, oil, bone, and skin which resulted from their hunting of the great whales. As they suffered the decline of the whale-hunting, the Thule people were forced to disperse into smaller groups, to range inland for caribou, and to depend increasingly on seals for their food, light, heating, clothing, and summer shelter. Typically, then, most Eskimo became coastal-dwelling people, passing the longest part of the year in a succession of snow houses established near their ever-changing hunting grounds, with preference for camp sites being given to sheltered bays close to the floe-edge, or to areas where strong currents kept the sea from freezing. The snow houses were preferably built on the ice, because this is warmer than sleeping in snow houses on the almost permanently frozen land.

While it is true that the Eskimo could be described as nomadic, it is necessary to point out that this does not indicate, as is often popularly thought, that the Eskimo ranged all over the Arctic continuously. Certainly the migrations of the proto-Eskimo cultures, the Dorset culture people, and the Thule culture people, indicate that in the earlier

centuries there was a gradual movement of the Asiatic migrants eastward, (toward the sun?), but it was never in large waves, or in enormous geographical strides at any given time. We have seen for example that the archaeological evidence suggests that it look two hundred years at least for the Thule people to move from the western Arctic as far east as Greenland. We then observe a long period, at least another two hundred years, during which most of the early Eskimo remained based for long periods in their substantial whale-hunting villages. Even when circumstances forced them to range more widely, it is obvious that each sub-group hunted within a somewhat circumscribed area, their nomadic patterns taking the form of seasonal movements from one well-known camping area to another within the general territory of the sub-group.

The Eskimo divided themselves quite clearly by what should properly be characterised as sub-groups, usually identifying the sub-groups with a name related to the area or territory in which they traditionally ranged. Each of these sub-groups developed quite distinctive dialectal and sub-cultural differences. Though the Eskimo language is basically the same from northern Norton Sound in Alaska to West Greenland, the dialectal differences are sufficiently distinctive that it would be unwise to assert that such linguistic in-group distinctiveness could develop over only one or two hundred years. Quite obviously the Eskimo were sub-divided by dialectal groups for very many centuries.

It may be noted that some care has been taken here, nevertheless, to avoid the use of the term "tribe"—because, by association with the North American Indians—this word has acquired connotations of political organization within the indigenous society, of a degree of sophistication and complexity never functionally necessary among the Eskimo people. There is no concept in the traditional Eskimo society of chieftainship, or inherited chieftainship, or elected chieftainship, nor of the types of sub-tribal chieftainship and internal organization and hierarchy not uncommon among, for example, the tribes of the Plains Indians.

The Sub-groups of Keewatin

The people of Keewatin may first of all be divided largely into three major groups, essentially in terms of technology and geographical distribution. The sub-cultures of the three divisions follow roughly the same general lines, that is to say, in terms of language-dialect. These divisions could be said to be, first, the inland-oriented people, who traditionally ranged in the Ennadai Lake, Henik Lake, Maguse Lake, Yathkyed Lake and Baker Lake areas, following the McConnell, The-Anne, Maguse, Kazan, and Back's River systems. In more recent time, these people have traded into Brochet, Windy River, Padlei, Nunalla, Eskimo Point, Tavani, Baker Lake, and Perry

River. The largest part of this category would fall under the generic Eskimo term the Padlirmiut.[1] The term "Padlirmiut" does not include the Utqusissalimiut and Saningajumiut who ranged the Back's River, Garry Lake and Chantrey Inlet area, but does include the Havaqturmiut of the Kazan River, the Sauniqtumiut of the Ferguson River, Ferguson Lake, Wilson River area, the Ahiamiut of the inland South Keewatin plain, and the Avviamiut of the Maguse Lakes and Eskimo Point area. Traditionally ranging in the Roes Welcome Sound area from Cape Fullerton north, and including Southampton Island, Wager Bay, and specifically the Repulse Bay area, are the Aivilimiut. Though accustomed to go inland periodically for caribou hunting, the Aivilimiut are essentially a sea culture people, seal hunters, walrus hunters, and whale hunters, with linguistic affinities with the people of the Melville Peninsular and the Eastern Arctic, unlike the Padlirmiut, and the Utqusissalimiut, whose linguistics affinities are rather more with the Eskimo groups to the west.

An intermediate group, in terms both of language and technology are the Qairnirmiut[2] who ranged though the country along the length of Chesterfield Inlet from Baker Lake to the sea, and along the north-west Hudson's Bay coast from Whale Cove north, taking in Rankin Inlet, Chesterfield Inlet Settlement area, Winchester Inlet, Daly Bay, and Cape Fullerton. As the narrative will show later, only Chesterfield Inlet was a location of white settlement in the Qairnirmiut area during the last four decades, until the establishment of the nickel mine and the satellite community of Whale Cove in the late 'fifties. Previous to this, Rankin Inlet was only a seasonal camping area, occasionally, for a few Eskimo fishing parties.

Contact between the various sub-groups in Keewatin was not infrequent, and some of the more vigorous and assiduous travellers in every one of the sub-groups have been known to range over the whole area from Repulse Bay or even Igloolik in the north, to Churchill in the far south, and from Chesterfield Inlet as far west as Garry Lake. Usually relationships between the members of the various sub-groups were reservedly friendly, but not intimate, characterized by a form of ethnocentric reserve common to many internally-intimate folk societies. The Qairnirmiut were accustomed to travelling south to the tree-line occasionally in order to obtain wood for tent frames, sled material, weapon shafts, kayak frames, and even the frames for ceremonial drums. A centrally placed lake in the middle of the Keewatin District was a favourite place for people from wide-spread

[1] The post-base — *miut* can most readily be translated as "the people of ..." — thus: *Aivirq* – walrus; — *lir* – there is: — miut — the people of i.e. Aivilimiut — "the people of the walrus area".

[2] Though clearly distinguished in the Reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition, KNUD RASMUSSEN, (ed.), most contemporary Keewatin people have dropped this identification, and use either coastal or inland sub-group labels, though readily tracing their kin relationships across these groupings, and thus often find them explicable in terms of Qairnirmiut origins.

groups to come together occasionally for trading purposes. For example the inland people occasionally wished to acquire the sealskin boots or other sealskin materials which are more hardwearing and durable than the caribou hides which they were accustomed to use for clothing and footwear. Marriage between the Aivilimiut and the Padlirmiut was almost unknown, but intermarriage has not infrequently occurred between Qairnirmuit and members of both other groups, to the point where such separate identity has almost disappeared.

Although social differentiation in its more sophisticated forms was traditionally completely unknown among the Eskimo, it is true that among the Keewatin Eskimo there has for long been a sense of hierarchy, a value judgment concerning the intelligence, emotional balance, industriousness, and general competence—of the various sub-groups. In this, the Aivilimiut of the north-east corner of Keewatin have tended to place themselves at the top, and the Qairnirmiut next, with the Padlirmiut the least respected, particularly those of the deep south inland plain on the edge of the tree-line. Until quite recently, the Back's River people remained very remote and usually out of contact for long periods with other Keewatin Eskimo, but generally they would be rated by the Aivilimiut as slightly less than equal to the Qairnirmiut but certainly superior to the Padlirmiut. It is interesting to note that most of the members of the other groups accepted this relative rating, as a value judgement, and accorded initiative in the new settlements to the members of these basic groups in keeping with this evaluation. This matter will be raised again in the section dealing with social relations.

CHAPTER II

The Non-material Culture of the Keewatin Eskimo

Most of the data gathered for this section have come from research among the Aivilimiut, one of the most influential groups in the Rankin Inlet situation, and the group among whom the folk-loric traditions have been most clearly articulated, for this observer, and with the greatest breadth. It can be said at the same time, however, that with certain special exceptions such as the absence of great respect for the sea deity among the most inland-dwelling people—the non-material traditions which will be described are shared by all the Keewatin Eskimo, historically, with only minor sub-cultural variations.

The Primacy of Thought

Traditionally the Keewatin Eskimo have survived for many centuries in an environment as severe and demanding as any in the world. The climate in Keewatin, in contrast to the rest of the Eastern Arctic, is particularly cold, windy, and the long winter exceptionally protracted. While Baffin Island and the Arctic archipelago are affected by moderating maritime influences, Keewatin has a classical continental climate, and the way of life for its indigenous population is resultantly the more difficult. In such a setting, one might not be surprised to find a people who, more than most other Eskimo, are entirely absorbed with the struggle for sheer survival. It may to some seem paradoxical to discover that great value is attached to intellectual vigour and intelligent metaphysical appreciation of the cosmos. It should be realized, however, that the Eskimo of Keewatin were particularly well-suited to realize their physical dependency upon the whims of nature, and that simple physical exertion for the sake of survival would be insufficient. Therefore the people felt it necessary to attempt metaphysical manipulation of their environment, something which requires considerable intellect and spiritual strength. It is realized, of course, that the perceptions, values, and attitudes of a culture are embedded in the language, which symbolically expresses these qualities. A brief etymological glance at the Eskimo vocabulary for "thought" may perhaps illustrate to some extent the specific case in point. *Isu* is the Eskimo word-root meaning "the end", the ultimate; and built onto this root is the word *isuma* which is the word for "thought". From this root there spring many words connoting intelligence, the power of reason, the desire to exert oneself, the process of reflection and philosophizing, and the giving of opinions

and advice. Significant is the fact that the word for leader, boss, chieftain, or person of authority, does not have any connotation or physical strength or technical facility. The word for leader is *isumatak*, which means, in essence, quite obviously, "the one who takes thought".

It is interesting to note that the Eskimo language is capable, because of its agglutinative or holophrastic pattern of construction—of an almost infinite number of permutations of meaning-complexes, by the process of proliferation and arrangement of infixes and suffixes. Moreover, the Eskimo language is capable of a great extent of metaphorical expression—to the exent that the great spiritual intellectuals of the Eskimo society were capable of speaking almost an entire language using metaphors of every part of speech, for religious, ceremonial, poetic and mediumistic purposes. We realize then, that the Eskimo language, far from being, (as is often popularly believed) a simple symbolic system employed by a people pursuing a very simple way of life—is in fact a remarkably sophisticated language capable of considerable refinement of expression and extensive philosophical reaches.

Traditional Beliefs

All Keewatin Eskimos are now affiliated with one or other of the Christian churches established in the Arctic by missionary effort since the 1920's, (in most locations). An increasingly large proportion of the contemporary generation are Christians in whose minds the traditional religion is fragmental and diluted. In that the traditional Eskimo cosmology, and the folklore and religious beliefs into which the cosmology is woven, still significantly influence Eskimo-speaking people's perceptions, attitudes, and conceptual faculties, it is important to fully understand the religious beliefs and practices which were still in full flower in this part of the Arctic four decades before the period of this study. These factors, though not articulated, are by no means uninfluential in the intellect and cultural patterns of the contemporary Keewatin Eskimo. The language is of course, more than the mode of expression of these beliefs. It has already been pointed out that the cosmology is inextricably embedded, (morpheme by morpheme) in the language which is still an almost universal mode of thought and communication in the indigenous Eastern Arctic.

In the literature there are substantial fragments of the Eskimo religious beliefs, and a fairly considerable documentation of the folk tales and poetic songs. Even the records of the great Fifth Thule Expedition of 1921 to 1924, though quite extensive, do not encompass the full breadth of the Eskimo religious system, documenting some parts, and not penetrating fully into all of the metaphysical depths as to be able to

present the religious beliefs of the Eskimo as a complete and coherent philosophical system. Equally, this contemporary work is also of course ultimately limited at the source level.

In this brief report it would not be possible, anyway to present the religious system in full detail, still less the full range of folkloric figures, spirits, good and harmful, and all of the taboos and abstentions which have had currency among the Eskimo of Keewatin. Briefly, however, it will be necessary to allude to the broad generalities of the cosmology. First it should be noted that the Eskimo traditionally believed in one great creative force, a power which controlled all life. The Eskimo believed that *Sila* is the life-giving element, which enfolds all the world and invests all living organisms, and without which there can be no life. *Sila* is the word for air, without air there is no life; air is in all people and all creatures; anything deprived of air ceases to live. In that air therefore gives life and without air there is no life, and in that all organisms contain life, the Eskimos believed that they are part of the Life-Giving Spirit, that each individual is animated by the Life-Giving Spirit, and that the part of his soul, that part which is the essence of all things living, is part of the ultimate deity *Sila* or, as the Eskimo personify the force, *Silap inua*—"the person of the air". The inland Eskimo have used the term *Pinga*, which is to be translated "the One up there"—but on investigation this appears to be the same as the essence identified as *Sila* by the sea-coast people.

The folk-lore contains legends which account for the creation of the sun and the moon and the creation of an orderly world. The most philosophical speculations of the Eskimo intellectuals of the past include the notion of chaos, and suggest that it is only through language that we are able to give cogency and coherence to what we observe, and that therefore it was through a word that an orderly cosmos fell into being. For the sea-coast dwelling people the deity of the sea has been extremely important. She is known by various names, but the term *Nuliajuk* is the most common. She was so profoundly respected by the Aivilimiut that they never pronounced her name, but used instead a circumlocution such as *qavna*—which means "the one down there". *Nuliajuk* was believed to be the deity in control of all the creatures which dwell in the sea, and in fact the folklore has it that they came from her own fingers when they were severed by her indignant father because she chose to take to husband a dog. Sinking to the bottom of the sea she became the powerful goddess who can bring forth the seals, whales, walrus and fish for the substenance of the people, or if angered can withold her bounty and command the weather, the storms, the fogs, the coming and passing of the ice, the sunlight and the winds upon which Eskimo existence depends so directly. The sun, recognized as being of enormous power and closely associated with the source of life, is said to be female. The late spring and summer period when there is almost continuous sunlight is described by a word which in the Eskimo language is directly associated with

femaleness. The moon has much greater significance in the folklore of the coastal people, who are much more concerned with the tides, than in the folklore of the inland people for whom tides have no significance. This lack of serious concern about the sea is also seen in the readiness with which the inland people spoke the name of *Nuliajuk*, a spirit known to them but not deified with the awesomeness apparent in the thinking of the sea-coast people.

The moon is said to be male, and in fact is said to be the home of an unborn boy of whom all women of childbearing age are the mother. The connection between women, the moon, and fertility is strong, and the moon is an important area of concern for shamanistic purposes. The moon is an important reference point for the free, souls, that is to say unembodied soul-spirits of people, and the Padlirmiut say that when the moon is not seen in the sky—that is the time when the moon spirit is bringing human souls to the earth. This quick noting of a few salient points of the belief-background, leads us toward a conceptual system of major significance for our social perceptions.

The Concepts of the Soul, and the Significance of the Name

It is very important to understand the very great extent to which, in Eskimo traditional belief, the souls of the people were identified with, attached to, and participant in all of the other forces in the cosmos. The Eskimo believe in a soul-compound of much greater complexity than that conceptualized by more modern religious beliefs such as Christianity. In point of fact the sense of duality about human beings which permeates Eskimo perceptions, as often demonstrated, for example, in the language—is associated to a large extent with the belief in a dualistic soul system. Every individual is said to have as part of his soul the life force, the life-giving spirit, which is part of the whole animating force *Silap Inua*. This is of course something which never dies, air and the life-giving force go on indefinitely, and so then does the soul of men. When the air passes out of the body at the moment of physical death, it is simply the passing of the soul back into its original matrix. The Eskimo use several words for soul, depending on which part of the soul-complex is referred to. For example the word *napa* is used for the universal soul, the life soul, and this as also is the word-root for those things which are upright. At the same time the term *anirnirq* is used for soul—the word meaning at the same time "breath".

While this part of the soul, that is to say the universal soul, the life force, is obviously vital in the Eskimo belief system, the Eskimo finds his place not only in his society, but in the total cosmos, and in his terrestrial environment through the concept of the *tanirq*. This term refers to the individual name-soul, and is the point of identification of the individual with everything else with which he relates. *The name, in Eskimo belief, is the soul, and the soul is the name.* The Eskimo believed that the emitting of a word

evoked an image, which was an actual reality. No one could say that an image once evoked, by being spoken, was not a reality, though a mental one. The language is a complex of mental images, but both the physical objects, and the words used to evoke them—are, in Eskimo thinking, equally real. The name of an individual is more than a label, it is the means whereby a person's separate social existence is evoked, it is the symbolization of his personality, it is his very essence, and the spiritual and functional means whereby he is identified and related with the rest of his society and his physical and metaphysical environment.

In that a word is an image and a name is a word, and in that an image-word-name is also therefore a soul, the Eskimo believed that the animals and birds too have a soul, though not an individual soul, but rather a group soul. One word-name is used to identify all creatures of one species. With people, it not infrequently occurs that more than one person in a society has the same name. In Eskimo belief this means that people sharing the same name share in a companionate soul relationship. Thus the name of an individual relates him with the helping spirits of others who share his name, particularly if the name is the same as words used for animals. The Eskimo not only believed that the soul-name has reality, but in certain circumstances, particularly soon after death, has a functional relationship with the living. Help and company is therefore available to the individual through soul relationship, not only with those people whose souls are occupying bodies, but also with souls existing in the metaphysical realm. The Eskimo did not conceive therefore of finite death, because the cessation of physical life simply meant the passing out of the body of the soul complex into another form of existence. Souls could thus reach into the outer cosmos, to the moon and to the sun. In fact some groups have said that the Aurora Borealis are, (as in the folk story), the souls of children playing ball with a walrus head.

The individual soul of someone whose body has died is recalled into another body by the process of naming. The whole soul complex and naming system is in fact a series of constantly-changing transcendencies and mutations. The Aivilimiut had names for a baby in the foetal stage. When the baby was born, the soul embodied in the foetus went through "some form of death" and a new name was given to the baby. The name is almost always the name of someone important in the geneology of the kin-group. Among many Eskimo the giving of a name to a child is something not undertaken by the parents, but more commonly by the older and wiser and more knowledgeable grandparents, and equally often in consultation with a shaman. It was believed that an illness in an individual was caused often by some inbalance in the cosmological pattern of soul transcendencies, that the soul of an individual may be in some way needed elsewhere. The shaman, through, mediumistic enquiry, could then discover another name for the sick individual, and so free the soul-name which the sick person previously had

had. Some Eskimo have several names, and others have changed names more than once in their lives.

As the human body is an essentially transistory thing, but the soul is infinite, and constantly being re-invested in new lives, it was necessary, in order to keep in constant use the valued names and therefore souls in the group, to give names to new-born babies without reference to sex. No Eskimo name is considered to be essentially female or male.

While the Eskimo have a sense, therefore, of infinity, the difficulties of their life have not imbued them with any great interest in historicity, nor with any strong orientation toward the distant future. In the life where existence is so uncertain, looking far ahead is somewhat meaningless. It is therefore only in reference to the sex of an individual who has existed recently that the Eskimo associates names with sex. For example, (taken from observation in a Aivilimiut-home)—a man may call a little girl "grandfather" because her name is the same name, and therefore the soul, and therefore the very essence of the speaker's grandfather. The force of Eskimo belief in Keewatin in the reality of the soul-name personality has been observed in a variety of instances by the researcher. In the mid-1960's Rankin Inlet, a child had to be adopted into a family not related to her by kinship, (which is unusual), because while away in hospital in the south and beyond access to the normal traditional sources of advice, the natural mother had named the child after someone who had very deeply offended and caused acute suffering to the natural father. His negative reaction to the reintroduction of this baleful essence into his nuclear family was what made the move necessary.

Thus it can be shown that no individual Eskimo, even of the present young adult generation, feels himself to be entirely alone or isolated. The naming system itself engenders a very strong sense of integration, not only with the kin group, and the society in which it functions, but with the creatures and the forces of the entire natural environment. The language provides the name-soul complex which gives the Eskimo people their sense of place in the cosmos and also with the forces of nature—with a sense of identification, for every individual in his society. All the names of the people have some secondary significance in terms of their metaphysical meaning. The words used for names are also the words used variously for animals, for the elements, for the sun and the moon, for parts of the body and for emotions. It has been felt important to stress the significance of the naming system and the way in which it is so closely linked with the total Eskimo perception of reality, of personality, of individual essence, of society, and of cosmology, because at a later point in this discussion the question of language in the acculturation situation will be raised rather significantly.

In a society so completely absorbed, through language, philosophy and perception in the system which had just been briefly described—it is easy to understand that everyone was to some extent an informed practitioner of the religious beliefs. Nevertheless it will be realized that though religiousity surrounded almost every part of the society's culture, the fullest extent of metaphysical understanding and religious practice would be found more notably in the most intellectually-inclined and most life-experienced individuals in the group. Shamanism, of various levels, varying from conjuring and hypnotism to advanced mediumism and philosophical speculation—was an important part of the traditional life of the Eskimo. Every camp group had at least one *angatquq* (shaman), and often several *iglirsurqsimajut*—the people who had acquired so many protective amulets through shamanistic help that they did not need to observe many taboos. The *angatqut* were usually older people of recognized wisdom, experience and intellect. Most of the great *angatqut* have been men, though a few women shamans have been notable, more especially after they have passed childbearing age. Though the *angatqut* were not necessarily the leading hunters in the groups, (in fact some did relatively little hunting), and were in many cases not even considered to be nominally the leaders of the group in representation to outsiders, they were nevertheless the individuals with the most profound influence over the lives of the people in their group. Many of the inland *angatqut* considered themselves only capable of undertaking physical healing, advising their group on taboos, warding off baleful spirits, and divining the sources of misfortune. Even so, they were very important people, and some who used their esoteric knowledge and magical power in malevolent ways were greatly feared. Among the coastal Eskimo the art of shamanism occasionally reached great philosophical and metaphysical heights.

All recognized *angatqut* went through a long and extremely trying novitiate. Their potentiality for shamanistic practice was usually recognized by an established shaman, most usually because of their exceptional intelligence, and sometimes because of significant events in their lives. During periods of preparation, they were required to expose themselves, usually without food, water or bedding, entirely alone in a small snowhouse or a grave, but essentially far removed and where there would be no footprints—for long periods of meditation. The first exposure would be for five days, and after visitation from the shaman tutor, may go on with the exposure for another five days with very little sustenance. These periods of exposure, usually accompanied by continence and abstinence from many types of food—continued repeatedly over a very long period. A shaman novice may not lie with his wife for as much as a year, and even after that many groups would not consider a shaman fully qualified until after five years of novitiate. The essential function of these demanding abstentions was to permit the

shaman to meditate undistracted, to live with great purity so that his mind could be concentrating on the spiritual inspiration and spirit help he requires to be an effective shaman. During these periods of abstention, the shaman would ultimately feel himself to be visited by the helping spirits which would become his throughout his shamanistic practice. Usually the helping spirits came in the form of animal spirits—foxes, ermin, ravens, caribou, walrus, or polar bear for example. The crushing weight and strength of walrus and polar bear as aids in transporting the soul of the shaman out of his body to the depths of the sea—were very important. The polar bear particularly has been always considered an exceptionally strong spirit.

Throughout his practice, the essential skill of the shaman was his ability to detach his soul from his body. Late in his novitiate period, a shaman acquired a new name, and it was the soul-name part of his soul-compound that he usually used in intercession for someone in his group. The process of shamanistic trance is such that it may be considered analogous to a regression toward "death", or, rather more likely, to the uterine state, wherein "rebirth" can occur. The shaman in a state of trance could progressively descend into the unconscious until respirations almost ceased. During the early part of the trance, the shaman could, the Eskimo believe, send his name-soul out to the depths of the sea to intercede with *Nuliajuk* in times of shortage of seaborn game, or to consult with her and her husband concerning the naming of someone in the shaman's group. Some shamans claim that during the deepest part of a trance, they are able to expel from their bodies and send on the furthest soul journeys—their universal soul, during which their bodies are actually dead, and from which they return in a state of great inspiration. Accounts of shaman novitiates receiving their helping spirits often include the observation of a bird descending to the snow house, tent or grave in which the shaman is waiting alone. They also observe during shamanistic trances the movement of a bird away from the place where the shaman is. Bird symbolism in connection with the receiving of spirits is not of course by any means limited to the Eskimo tradition.

Though the Eskimo shaman was constantly occupied with the divining of taboo problems and with healing, (not by herbal medicine, which is virtually unknown among the Eskimo, dwelling as they do in an area largely lacking in vegetation, but by sucking, prayer, stick-lifting, and mediumistic trance spirit-invoking)—it must be pointed out that, as with everything else in Eskimo life, a great deal of the shaman's profession related directly or indirectly to the basic function of the Eskimo society, that upon which their whole survival depended—hunting. Most of the taboos, abstinences, prayers, and shamanistic journeys to see ahead the dangers which the traveller might encounter—were devoted to the improvement of the all-important task of hunting. Every hunter approached his work in a religious frame of mind, using prayers, amulets, whispered messages and songs to the animals he was hunting, assertions of respect for them and

small observances such as the returning of part of any animal killed to the physical environment from which he took it. Again, it has been felt necessary here to emphasise the religiosity which has invested in the basic economic function of the Eskimo—hunting, as a factor to be kept in mind later in the discussion, when the secularising influences of acculturation are noted.

VALUES

First one might pause here briefly to indicate what one means by values. Honigman[1] says:

"Armed with values men decide how to act, sit in judgement on one another, and appraise other ways of life ... Values are indeed learned but only if they are in accord with an individual's personal beliefs in his culture ... Some values, like health, in-group harmony, courage, respect for elders, range freely across many cultural boundaries. So do negative values placed on murder, adultery, and theft. But even these, like all values, are situationally anchored."

In this latter sentence Honigmann means that the application of values, either negative or positive, is often adjustable according to the shift of societal emotions under certain specific conditions. Personalized murder is normally considered bad, but killing a national or tribal enemy in time of warfare is deemed good or even noble. Donald Macrae[2] says that to the sociologist:

"Values are constituent facts of the social structure." He says that the sociologist treats them as "scarce objects of socially conditioned desire, unevenly distributed and differentially ranked. In the Durkheimian sense of social fact they are given data for each individual, and constrain social behaviour towards them."

I would refer to values as emotional responses either articulated or behaviouristically demonstrated, which reflect the world view, religion, and socio-economic necessities of a society in such a way as to predicate perceptions of reality, socialization, social interaction, subjective evaluation of behaviour, and artistic modes of cultural expression.

THOUGHT

From the foregoing it will be readily understood that the value system of the Eskimo people ascribes considerable importance to the capacity of the individual for thought. It was the most creative thinkers, the most imaginative people, and in short, the most intellectually vigorous, who assumed the rôles of leadership, and most specifically of *angaqut*, the shamanistic arbiters, metaphysical interpreters and mediums, who were

[1] J. J. Honigman, *Understanding Culture*, New York, 1963, p. 191.

[2] D. G. Macrae, *A Dictionary of Sociology*, ed. by G. Mitchell, Chicago, 1968.

considered necessary to aid in the struggle for survival in the Arctic. With frequent reminders of their physical helplessness, wherein death by starvation, freezing, by getting lost in a blizzard, by going through the ice, by drowning, and by accidents far from help—the Eskimo came to rely on metaphysical help for their survival. Only by the exercise of intelligence, alertness, and imagination was the simplest form of survival possible. It is a common observation among the Eskimo that the stupid do not survive. The Eskimo have remarkably well-developed powers of observation, and retention of visual memory, so that they are able to quickly discern changes in weather, which can come with great rapidity, the condition of ice, and the signs of wildlife upon which they depend. Nevertheless the Eskimo feel that the ability to observe is meaningless without the ability to analyse and interpret what is observed. Thus modern scientists have often been, really rather unjustifiably, surprised at the way in which Eskimo people can, from simple observations, develop deductions which demonstrate a quite thorough knowledge of meteorology, ecology and physiology in ways which are straightforwardly scientific rather than folkloric. Thus the phrase *isumatuujuk* "he is well endowed with thought" and the phrase *silatuujuk*—"he is intelligent" (literally: well-endowed with air), (the life-giving force)—are the highest compliments that can be given. To say that a person is *isumakittuk*—"lacks thought" or is *silaituk*—"unintelligent"—is particularly damning.

Seniority

In a society where experience in the task of survival is won only by a life of hazard, and the exercise of intelligence, ingenuity and wisdom—the guiding and guarding knowledge of people who by their years are thought to be well-endowed with such experience, the older people—are very highly valued and respected. In almost every Eskimo family, the authority of the oldest person, man or woman, is very great. For example, the writer has asked a mature man of great reputation as a hunter and trapper, a man with adolescent children of his own, when he proposed to begin setting out his traps in the autumn. The hunter replied, very simply, "When my father tells me". The old people are the repositories of all the accumulated wisdom of the sub-culture, and of their own life span, and are greatly depended-upon for their advice. It is they who carry in their heads the extensive geneology of the group, and who decide upon who should marry who, avoiding the union of close blood relatives, and who decide upon the naming of the children.

This sense of seniority permeates the whole of the society. Not only are the old deferred to, but it is normal for siblings to accept the authority of their older brothers or sisters, a pattern which begins in childhood and often remains firm throughout life. One example is that of a mature and respected older woman, who, when widowed, moved

against her own personal desire and better judgement from Rankin Inlet to Eskimo Point in the Spring of 1964, because her older brother had so ordained. In this society where dependence on the knowledge of the more experienced and older individuals was considered necessary to survival, the acceptance of seniority as a profound value is almost automatic and very deep-seated. It is important to point out, in the light of our acculturation observations, that in Eskimo traditional thinking, authority and seniority in years were virtually synonymous.

Sharing

Among a people particularly vulnerable to the vagaries of climate and game-availability, a high degree of social interdependency was a basic necessity. No hunter could always hope to invariably bring home food for the family. Thus within the extended family, and in fact beyond, within the camp group, the practice of sharing is highly valued and firmly institutionalised. The expectation of sharing among members of the group is automatic, to the degree that when a hunter returns home, the families in the adjacent dwellings quite frequently come or send their children without invitation to receive their share. The division of the carcase is predicated in an accepted pattern, the favoured cuts being apportioned in terms of closeness of kindship and of seniority.

Not only is food shared, but also the means of gaining it—that is to say the Eskimo traditionally shared readily with other kinsmen and people in their camp group, their weapons, their kayaks, pelts and skins, their dogs and sleds and their own personal services. The woman is a vital and integral part of the hunting team. A man embarking on a very extensive hunting journey would normally take his wife with him. If, for some reason she were unable to go, or because of other rather special circumstances, there was the possibility of a wife being lent by a man to his friend to provide her vital practical services. Contrary to popular belief, the Eskimo have not practiced wild, unstructured and irresponsible promiscuity in the matter of wife-sharing.

The small hunting camp is constantly a scene of meetings, discussions and visiting, so that highly articulated leadership is rarely necessary. Everyone, in the intimate setting of the camp is familiar with the needs of the others, and when one individual or family requires help in, for example, the beaching of a boat, the hauling of meat to or from a cache, the erection of a large tent or a particularly large family iglu—the other people in the group automatically lend their services. Always it is realised that the person with meat or other facilities on one occasion will quite predictably be himself in need sooner or later. The severity of the climate and the difficulty in exploiting it is such that only by combined social efforts can the group survive. The value of sharing, then, has had long emotional importance for the Eskimo as a vital element in the social organization upon

which the survival and perpetuation of the group depends. Inability to share causes acute distress in the minds of many Eskimo, and any unusual instance of unwillingness to share arouses the strongest disgust and derision. This value is still very strongly held among contemporary Keewatin Eskimo, and will be referred to again in the discussion of the strains arising in the modern monetary economy which is so significant in the acculturation situation.

Family: Solidarity and Perpetuation

The basic social and economic unit of the Eskimo society is the extended family. The family is, traditionally, of course, the source of socialisation, but unlike modern North American society, remains the centre of orientation for the Eskimo individual during the whole of his life. Practical and emotional needs are then, important motivational forces behind the very high value ascribed in the Eskimo society to the family as a social concept. Traditionally, though the Eskimo conceived of themselves generally and generically as *Iniut*—"The People", they never had any strong sense of total ethnic-group loyalty, still less of a sense of identification on a pan-Eskimo or national scale. Social commitment is intensely toward the extended family, somewhat less so toward the camp group, which is a changeable constellation, and moderately toward the dialect group as a whole. Beyond the dialect group, the Eskimo felt very little sense of commitment, though taking an academic interest in the patterns of life, problems, language and folklore of other Eskimo groups in a detached though friendly way. The high value attached to the family above any other social grouping, is demonstrated in a way in which kin-linked people seek to remain very near to each other, and often in the same dwellings until the family becomes too large; in the way in which the all-important values of seniority and authority are mainly operative within the extended family, and have much less power beyond the limits of the kin group. It is seen in the way in which the camping groups can change in size and make-up as sections of the group move away, join other camp groups, or form others of their own, but always the adjustments are made, as far as possible, in terms of whole extended family groups. Most decisions are arrived at in consultation with other members of the family, or at least with reference to the needs and desires of the rest of the family.

The popular literature has, as in so many cases, provided some distorted ideas about the disposal of the old among the Eskimos, and about Eskimo infanticide. There have been rare occasions among the Keewatin Eskimo when the privation of the group has reached such an extent that the survival of the rising generation has been threatened. When old people have gone to their death either by their own actions or with assistance, most accounts indicate that it was with the willingness of the old person and at the great

distress of the rest of the family. Essentially the perpetutation of the family is the basic motivation. Suicide, or voluntary death, or assisted suicide, whereby an old and sick person is helped to kill himself, (as occured in Igloolik in the early 1960's)—do not carry the moral stigma which is known in Christian society, because of the religious conviction that death is merely a transcendency whereby the person simply passes out of a temporary vehicle, the body of the time.

Similarly, it is known that infanticide, almost invariably of female babies, has occured among the Keewatin Eskimo, though the enquiries of the researcher have always given rise to assertions that such acts only took place a long time ago. The writer can assert, however, that he has observed on some half-dozen occasions situations of great difficulty in which a baby has not been put to death, but rather, because of the moral pressures of the contemporary society, allowed to die of some infant illness, all too easily contracted in the contemporary situation, and brought on by dehydration and malnutrition. These instances of infant death were usually caused by severe privation in the family, and rationalized by the fact that the parting of his life would improve the survival changes of the others in the family, and by the fact that the death itself is merely a transcendency.

Children of both sexes are in fact highly valued, and the recipients of great affection and continuous attention. Small children ride almost continuously body-close in the parka pouch of the mother until a new sibling is born. This may mean in some cases that the mother continues to carry her youngest child until the age of three or even four. Children of this age, being carried on their mother's backs, and even occasionally suckled, are still a common sight in Keewatin. The children represent support and help for their parents in advanced age, the confirmation and focus of interest of the marital union, the means whereby the senior generation can re-invest their knowledge, their personalities and their emotions in the rising generation; and finally, children literally represent the reappearance in bodily form of valued souls in the kin-complex of the group. This latter is one of the reasons why Eskimo children were traditionally never subjected to physical chastisement.

Frankness

Keewatin Eskimo do not differ from Eskimo in other parts of the Arctic to any significant degree in their recognition of the positive value for frankness. In the small hunting camps in which they have existed for so long, the high degree of inter-dependency has meant that openness and free exchange of information, observations and feelings was necessary to the social cohesion and effective economic operation of the group. In so intimate and knowing a face-to-face society, lack of frankness would be a source of social strain, in that people become so familiar with each other that an attempt to hide

anything is virtually impossible. Thus anyone trying this would arouse tension, suspicion and cause damage to the easy and co-opertive relationships upon which the material well-being of the whole group depends. The physical demands of the environment, whereby families all lived very closely in single-room dwellings permits only of minimal privacy. One might say that the value of frankness is in some way an extention of the value of sharing, in that not only are material possessions and acquisitions shared, but so too are information, emotions and aspirations. Inevitably in the intimate society of the Eskimo past, lack of frankness would sooner or later result in the discomfiture of the secretive person. Lying and evasiveness were therefore not common among most traditional Eskimo, and the subject of moral sanctions, disapproval and mistrust where they did occur.

Acceptance

The Keewatin Eskimo, particularly those of the inland groups, attach value to resignation or acceptance of viccitudes—perhaps to an even higher degree than is common among Eskimo of other parts of the Arctic. Though the survival of the Eskimo people in this extremely severe and often dangerous part of the world demonstrates a tremendous will to live, (and there are multitudinous examples of Eskimo surviving hardships and pain which would have killed most people of slightly greater life-style sophistication)—it can be nevertheless stated that the process of survival has been aided by the ability of the Eskimo people to conserve life by the acceptance of viccitudes. Considerable nervous energy is dissipated in the process of resisting, resenting, complaining about or allowing oneself to become emotionally damaged by hardship or disaster. Many observers have commented on the excessive passivity of Eskimo in the face of pain, cold, hunger, bereavement or threat. The Eskimo word *ajunnamat*—"because there is no help for it" sums up largely the way in which this value of acceptance operates in the minds of the Eskimo. Losses varying from the disappearance of hunted prey, the misplacing of a valued implement, to the death of a loved one, are very frequently met with and settled with the phrase *ajunnamat*.

Withdrawal

Assertiveness is not normally valued by the average person among Keewatin Eskimo. Greater value is attached to the act of withdrawal in situations where individuals or groups come into some form of conflict, or even into a situation where there are sufficient unknowns that some sense of threat is felt. Again as with the value of acceptance, the value of withdrawal is much more strongly emphasized among the Padlirmiut than among other

Keewatin Eskimo. Physical combat among Eskimo was traditionally rare, and usually provoked by quite exceptional circumstances. Even though conflict was avoided as much as possible, people who lived very much dependent upon each other could not even afford to allow the development of hostility which arises from heated words. Particularly among the Padlirmiut, the value of withdrawal acts to remove individuals from many situations which they may feel threatening to them, or for some other personal reason undersirable. Withdrawal may take the form simply of saying nothing in a demanding situation, or of avoiding committment by any word or sign, and not infrequently by simply moving physically away from the individual or the situation which troubles them.

Respect

Permeating much of the social relationships of the Eskimo is the positive value for respect. Historically and philosophically this might be said to derive from the realisation of the Eskimo of their dependency upon the great elemental powers, and for the immortal souls whose close relationship with the cosmological influences inspired in them an attitude of respect, and thus a wide variety of taboos to prevent annoying them. The value of respect certainly is most strongly demonstrated in the behaviour of Eskimo people in relationship to authority, traditionally within the family, toward their seniors, and in the contemporary situation toward almost everyone else who is in some position of authority. Equally, respect is accorded by Eskimo people to their peers, their doings and their opinions being rarely challenged, their shortcomings tactfully minimized and their good qualities strongly praised. Verbal self-denignation is habitual and frequent and often genuinely felt. In the intimate society of the Eskimo camp, each individual is allowed as much room for intiative and personal satisfaction as possible. Idiosyncracies, foibles, ugliness and all forms of individual unattractiveness are tolerated to an extreme degree. This may be a recognition of the traditional belief that the soul of the individual is more important, transcending the characteristics of the present life and therefore commanding appropriate respect. *Isumaminik*—"whatever he thinks, it's up to him"—is the invariable response of Keewatin Eskimo concerning much which is done or said by peers, and especially by people who are considered superior.

Though privacy is minimal in the Eskimo dwelling, the value or respect for the individual is sufficiently effective that even from a very early age Eskimo learned not to intrude upon other individuals. It is possible for someone to undress completely in an Eskimo dwelling and, quite literally, though there may be many people there—not be seen. Some allusion has already been made to the respect which is also accorded children. The traditional absence of corporal punishment, the adult way in which even small children are often addressed, and the habit of speaking to them with the kinship term of

the relative whose name they bear—all arise from the respect which is accorded individuals because of the religious belief of the investment of a body by a valued name-soul. Let it be remembered that this name-soul is infinite, and most important, is part of a complex of souls compounding the individual universal soul and the companiate souls of others who bear the same name, and may also be occupying other bodies or may be existing in a metaphysical realm but conscious of what is going on in the society. To show disrespect for such a soul, therefore, would be to offend a most influential and important spiritual complex upon whose help one may very well depend at some time, for survival.

It should be pointed out that the rationalizing of these values, particularly with reference to the traditional religious beliefs, is not possible with the clarity and cogency which has been articulated here—for almost all of the contemporary Keewatin Eskimo. A very few, very old people, are still able to articulate the religious beliefs to any large extent, but in that they had considerable currency four and five decades ago only, the values which the religious system rationalizes, are still vigorously operative among all but the youngest Eskimo of contemporary Keewatin.

Concepts of Time, Space and Calculation

It is important, in order to understand some of the difficulties of the contemporary acculturation situation, to have some acquaintance with the traditional ways in which the Eskimo perceive time, space, and calculation. These perceptions are still effective among the majority of the Eskimo of Keewatin today.

First of all it should be recognized that in the traditional situation there was, of course, no concept of metrical time as it has been arbitrarily divided by the requirements of the industrial society to which the Euro-American belongs. Again, recourse to the language will help us to perceive the Eskimo way of thinking concerning time. There is no tense in the Eskimo language which could be literally interpreted as the pure present tense, as understood by English grammarians. There is a past tense verbal infix which is used for anything occuring earlier than the day on which the speaker speaks, and this is used for events in the recent past or in the very distant past equally. There is a recent past tense which refers only to events of the immediate past within the day of speech. The tense which some of the few students of the Eskimo language have interpreted as the present tense, is in fact itself designative of something already accomplished. An extra infix is necessary to connote something which is going on, an infix which establishes a sense of continuum. There is an immediate future tense which among some groups is used only to deal with something which may happen very soon on the day of speech. There is a more distant future tense which deals with the possibilities of days after the moment of

speech, and among the people of Baffin Island there is a verbal infix which deals with the far distant future, but may in fact be used for something which may occur within a month or so. It is interesting to note that among the Keewatin Eskimo, both Padlirmiut and Aivilimiut, the verbal infixes for the intermediate future and the distant future are very rarely used. Even for something which may conceivably occur in the distant future, the verbal infix "properly" connoting the immediate future is used. The suggestion here is that for the Keewatin Eskimo, both the past and the future recede very rapidly in importance from the present point of reference.

The traditional hunting way of life of the Keewatin Eskimo required, of course, no metrical system of measuring time. The Eskimo have coined words, in recent time, for "hour", "minute"—but these are actually spatial concepts describing the distances moved by the two hands around the clock. Months were measured naturally, in moon phases, but were not rigourosly counted, and were not important divisions of the hunter's year, though certain moons, according to season, are more important than other. The Padlirmiut use a word to describe the moon period of every month of the year. Most of these moon-terms refer to some phase in the annual cycle of the caribou, upon which of course, the Padlirmiut depended almost exclusively. It is interesting to note that the Padlirmiut name for the period corresponding to March—"*Taqinaq*"—could be translated as "the moon-possessed" and was regarded by the Padlirmiut as the most critical of all periods. March is a very wintery month, a bitter period at the end of a long winter season, and one in which people are most vulnerable to privation and hunger, and in more recent times, prey also to sickness. *Taqinaq* is the time when the largest number of taboos must be observed. It is a time among the Padlirmiut when they traditionally forbade the partaking of any sustenance, even water, in the open-air. It is significant to note too, that for the Padlirmiut the "new year" could be said to begin at the time when the caribou migrations come back into the Keewatin plains, after wintering further south, this period being the moon phase corresponding to the month of May.

The April–May period is known in Eskimo as *upingaksa*—the prelude to Spring, when the sun is becoming brighter but has no warmth. June and July are known as *upinga*, and the short period when the ice has completely melted is known as *auja* "the melted time". This is followed *ukiaksa* the prelude to winter, which takes in the second half of September and the month of October and encompasses the period of freeze-up. The rest of the year is *ukiu* the period without warmth—or winter—and this word is used also for the concept of "year". It has been felt necessary to demonstrate this limited and entirely seasonally-oriented group of time perceptions among the Eskimo[1], to provide

[1] Obviously, the vocabulary contains words for day, night, month and such phrases as *akuniaalu*—"a long time", and *kilamikulu*—"a short time" (lit. "a small stretch of sky")—but there was no pre-Christian word for "week", words for day of the week, or for clock time.

a background for contrast with the society into which they are moving in the acculturation situation.

Living naturally, the Eskimo never observed regular meal periods, but ate as circumstances and whim dictated. Men most often travelled all day having chewed only a small piece of dried meat on awakening, and then ate largely, if supplies permitted, at night. During the spring and summer periods when there is no darkness, the measurement of time by days is virtually meaningless, and people traditionally went about their activities and their rest purely as bodily need, or tide, after break-up—dictated. Hunters may spend as much as twenty-four or thirty-six hours, or even longer, in intense activity and without sleep, and, having done their best in the hunt, would then sleep for half a day. Often, however, during the long days, the hunters particularly, sleep only in short periods and spend very long periods awake and active.

Euro-American observers have often been amazed by the great patience of Eskimo people. In the coldest part of the winter, Eskimo hunters will wait, harpoon resting across their knees, and back bent, poised over a seal's breathing hole in the ice for many long, freezing, dark hours, without any sense of fatigue, their minds concentrated entirely on the seal they hope to kill. In summary it might be mentioned that there is no word in the Eskimo language which can be even approximately translated by any of the European words which connote, literally, "time".

Spatial Perceptions

Equally, there are no perceptions of space in the Eskimo intellectual structure which approximate to the arbitrary metrical system of the Euro-American. In fact there is a very smooth overlapping in Eskimo of concepts of time and space. For example, the distance between two camps is measured in the approximate number of sleeps it may take for the dog-team traveller to pass between the two points, (and all of this is relative, of course, in terms variations in travelling conditions). There is no vocabulary in Central Arctic Eskimo which covers either small or large units of linear measurement, and in recent times, Eskimo in industrial settings who have found it necessary to acquire these notions, do not, as they do so frequently in other situations—coin terms out of their own language, but adopt the English words. At the same time the Eskimo people as a whole have been observed everywhere as having a very accurate natural eye for space. The writer has frequently noted Eskimo working in, for example, carpentry, able to cut lengths of wood, measured by the eye, with accuracy down to small fractions of an inch. Many Eskimo seamstresses can make a garment of perfect fit after little more than a glance at the person for whom she is sewing.

It is interesting to note, that though a people who have lived in great spatial intimacy

—Eskimo are most at ease employing a conversational distance which is slightly greater than that used by most people of north European descent. They tend to withdraw from the degree of conversational closeness considered normal by people of Mediterranean descent, particularly if addressed in loud tones.

Calculation

Calculation is a facility of very limited use in the traditional Eskimo culture. Even yet, even among the few most-acculturated Eskimo, the motivation to count things is quite limited. The vocabulary contains numerical words up to ten and then jumps to the word *avatit*—"twenty"—which actually means the sum total of the digits of the body. In many parts of the Eastern Arctic now, the Eskimo employ English numerical words after five, but usually only use number words, not for counting but for identification purposes as introduced by the Whites. For example, numbers were first used regularly among the Eskimo for identifying the hymns introduced by the missionaries,[1] and in more recent times by the Government officials seeking to overcome their inability to deal with Eskimo traditional names by giving every Eskimo a registration number.[2]

Many Eskimo, still, however, feel no motivation to count. Only the youngest generation know how old they are with any degree of accuracy. Older people know roughly how old they are, not by numerical concepts, but by comparison with their peers, with reference to remembered events and by their own physical condition. The Eskimo hunter knows by bulk whether the food he has acquired is sufficient to feed his family or not. It is not uncommon still for an Eskimo of middle years to be surprised by the White man's enquiry as to how many children a man has. The response is to give the names of the children, marking them off on the fingers of the hand as one goes, and having come to the end of the list of names, simply to show the White man the number of fingers raised. The Eskimo father knows everything about his children that is relevant in his scheme of values and needs. He knows the name of his children, the order in which they were born, the circumstances under which they were born, the children to whom they are betrothed, and every item of information about their personal needs, likes and dislikes, habits and personality—which is normal to the affectionate parent. Until asked by a White man, it had not normally occurred to any Eskimo to try to conceive of his family as a mathematical abstraction.

In an intellectual system where there is not even any "need" for numerical addition, it may well be understood that mathematical concepts such as multiplication and di-

[1] Some Eskimo acquired some notions of number and calculation from the whalers, and rather more during the fur-trade era.

[2] This system was discontinued and replaced by registered surnames, in 1972.

vision are also absent. Because, perhaps, of such things as the significance in Eskimo traditional belief, of periods of five days or multiples of five days, and for some simple practical purposes, there is in the language the word *qapsini?*—which would be translated to mean "how many?". Several Eskimo intellectuals in various parts of the Arctic have said to the researcher that preoccupation with "how many" is an outstanding characteristic of the White people and one of their most notable differences from the Eskimo people. One extremely alert and quite young philosophizer told the writer that with their preoccupation with numbers, the White people are often deceiving themselves, because they show that they know so little that they have to convince themselves that they have established some meaningful truth by ascertaining or ascribing some numerical significance to whatever confronts them.

Again it has been felt necessary to give some emphasis to the lack of interest in calculation in the Eskimo intellectual culture because, as may readily be perceived, this is of some significance in an acculturation situation where the Eskimo society is confronted with a society which might almost be said to live by calculation.

CHAPTER III

Social Structure and Social Controls

"MACRO"-STRUCTURE

Dialect Group. It should not be necessary at this point to repeat the material offered earlier concerning the major form of division in the total Eskimo society, the dialect group. It should be clear that the term "dialect group" has been chosen by the writer as so far the most significant form of sub-cultural differentiation among the contemporary Eskimo people. Within the sub-cultures designated by the dialect group it was also traditionally possible to observe characteristic forms of technology, of dress, of folklore, and of personal adornment, (varying from types of tatooing, to the types of marking used to decorate clothing and other objects of use). Finally of course, traditional area of nomadic range was a definitive sub-cultural indicator. However, in the contemporary Arctic society, many Eskimo are highly geographically mobile, and particularly in Keewatin, there are areas now completely abandoned by the Eskimo who traditionally ranged there, the populations having been moved out with Government help during starvation periods, now to be found in coastal areas where they had rarely ever been seen historically. All over the Arctic, and quite certainly in Keewatin, the established settlements are now the collecting-places for increasingly large and sedentary groups of Eskimo gathered in from widely scattered areas. Rankin Inlet is the most notable Keewatin location of this kind. It is less and less valid to designate the sub-groupings in this contemporary situation, therefore, by geographical location, technology, or clothing; but dialectal differences do tend to persist, among at least all but the elementary school age children of migrants. The smaller children of inland migrants are growing up in Rankin Inlet-speaking in a dialect other than that of their parents, (a form of impure and minimal *Aivilimiutitut*). However, historical geographical range, establishment of camp groups, marriage, adoption, and belief systems, have all traditionally co-incided with the dialectal delineation.

It has already been pointed out that the term "tribe" is inappropriate with Eskimo dialectal groups because there is not present any of the tribal form of organization which is now normally connoted by that term. Not only can it not be said that there is, in the etnographic present, no chieftain or any system of sub-chiefs among, for example the Aivilimiut or the Padlirmiut, but it cannot even be said that there is clear and unequivocal leadership to be readily discerned among the small camp groups.

Camp Group. The semi-nomadic camp group, speaking in the etnographic present, has been the largest visible traditional Eskimo aggregation for very many generations. Even the more settled villages of the Thule people of a thousand years ago were still not large by comparison, for example, with the normal aggregation of many others of the indigenous populations of North America south of the tree line. The evidence indicates that it has always been necessary for the Eskimo and their ancestors to limit the number of people resident in any one area because too great a concentration of population would in time result in the hunting-out of the game of the area. In historical times Eskimo camp groups have rarely exceeded ten to fifteen families, and in Keewatin, camp groups have often consisted of no more than two or three families, and rarely have exceeded seven or eight families in one camp. The Padlirmiut particularly, while not infrequently camping no great distance apart, along such stretches of water as the Kazan River, Yathkyed Lake, Ferguson Lake, and the Thelon River—have nevertheless always kept their close groupings quite small. Though usually made up of at least one extended family and often two or three extended families, it would be inaccurate to describe the camp groups as family groups essentially, as the constellation of the camp is quite changeable, with individual families breaking off, occasionally, either to join other camps or to form separate camps of their own.

Authority then, in the camps, is not as complete as it is within the separate families. Nevertheless, the tendency is for most of the Eskimo to continue year after year, camping with the same people, people with whom they have much in common and with whom they work and relate effectively and easily. Some of these camp group aggregations have been maintained through two, three, four, or more generations. In this process it is inevitable that one person emerges as somewhat more articulate or vigorous than his peers. Though very often self-effacing in contact with people of other groups, and particularly in contact with white people, the somewhat-more-prominent individual in the camp group, (notice the avoidance of the term "chief") does tend to perform the rôle of leader. In some parts of the Eastern Arctic such a person was known by the traders quite frankly as "camp boss", but with a few very notable exceptions this term carries connotations of a much more overbearing form of leadership than is normally the case. In some cases, a person believed by the whites to be the leader, is in fact a person who happens to be articulate, and is the accepted spokesman, though not the actual person in authority. Particularly in Keewatin it is more accurate to say that most camps, living in great intimacy, and constantly in discussion, come to decisions by general concensus, often hardly articulated, and the leadership which emerges in the group may be no more than the functioning of one individual as the person who puts most clearly into words what everyone else has already said and agreed upon, and who takes the first initiative in action which is already known to be acceptable to all.

As earlier material will have indicated, the most influential person in every camp is usually the *angatquq*—though in contact with other groups, and especially in contact with Whites he may not be very prominent at all. In the increasingly secularized life of the modern Eskimo the person designated as camp leader was more often, at least for public purposes, the most prominent hunter, or even more likely, the patriarch of the largest family in the camp. It is not unusual traditionally for all of these qualities to be combined in the one person, though the greatest of the mediumistic *angatqut* very often were less assidous in hunting, though competent, the group in which they lived being willing to partially support the shaman because of his intermediary and magical powers. Usually the *angatqut* insisted that their power derived from their helping spirits, and therefore it would be inappropriate for them to assert their own opinions and take upon themselves the overt rôle of secular leader, as this would offend the spirits who were in fact the source of the shaman's wisdom. Thus the shaman exerted an indirect rather than direct influence over the corporate decision-making patterns of the group, but his influence was nevertheless very significant.

Because of the values of sharing, seniority, withdrawal, respect, and the tendency of all Eskimo to under-rate themselves through a combination of some of these values, in what might be called a pattern of non-assertion, there has only rarely been any striving for leadership among the members of an Eskimo camp group. Damas has brillinatly documented one such instance.[1] The leadership of a group usually falls into its natural place, as the Eskimo see it, according to the age, personality, intelligence, and competence of the appropriate individuals, and this is normally accepted by everyone involved.

There is no inheritance of camp leadership. First of all the camp is quite a loose unit which can be readily readjusted or broken up; and secondly, leadership of a group normally falls upon individuals in keeping with the value of seniority, as described earlier. Certainly the son, usually but not invariably the oldest—of a prominent camp leader, may, as he acquires sufficient seniority in years, become a camp leader, but this is purely on his own personal, merits, and not through any institutionalized right of heredity.

The Extended Family

For our purposes, the extended family of the Eskimo should be taken as referring not to the entire range of recognised kinship, which is very widespread, but to the more closely-knit kinsfolk surrounding the "patriarchal" nuclear unit in a daily process of material and social support. The extended family is, then, the only formal and per-

[1] Damas, David, *Iglulimiut Kinship and Local Groupings*. Nat. Mus. Can. Bulletin 196.

manently-identifiable social grouping in the Eskimo society. It has been primary economic unit of the Eskimo society and the primary focus of social orientation. It has already been pointed out that traditionally, though the Eskimo had some sense of ethnicity, their sense of commitment to the Eskimo people as an "ethnic group", was somewhat vague, and that the camp group did not claim any strong loyalty, whereas the dialect group gave the individual a sense of group identification. The only truly emotional commitment is toward the extended family. In an environment where individualistic effort could never be depended upon always to sustain one man and his family, the sense of commitment to an extended family had a practical survival motivation.

The family centred, both physically and emotionally, around the oldest patriarch and matriarch. As many as physically possible, often the two youngest children and their children, lived in the "patriarchal-matriarchal" dwelling, and the rest of the nuclear families which made up the family constellation lived close by. The authority of the patriarch, and of the matriarch after his death, is very large. Even the oldest son in the extended family, who may be himself a grandfather, defers to the wishes of the oldest generation, be it represented by either the old father or the old mother. Responsibility for and most of the leadership in the family is in the hands of the old man traditionally, and is usually accepted by the oldest brother or son when the patriarch has died. There is no rigid inheritance system governing the passing on of possessions, nor even any insistance of male right over female. In other words, possessions are passed down first of all according to the value of seniority, but equally, according to whom they might be most useful.

Socialisation

The remarks under this sub-heading are limited to the needs of this chapter. The subject of socialisation is covered further in Chapter IV.

The socialization of children is traditionally a rôle shared by the actual parents and the grandparents. Mother and grandmother are responsible for the upbringing of daughters, and the male parents for the upbringing of sons. This carries on beyond the indoctrination of skills to the articulation of principles of living. From a very early age, as young as four or five, little boys start travelling with their fathers when hunting and trapping, while little girls learn the first principles of the feminine rôle. Young couples with their first children depend heavily on the advice and help of their own parents. Invariably the young couple with their first child or two will live matrilocally or patrilocally, according to the economic needs of the respective senior generations; and the influence of the grandparents is considerable. It is not uncommon for the first-born of a young couple to be adopted by the grandparental generation, with no thought in the minds of many of

the young people, of offering and resistance to such a move. Though examination of the traditional beliefs, folk-lore, and language, gives rise to strong suspicions that the Eskimo society, if not primordially matriarchal, was at least very profoundly influenced by the female side of the society—there is no evidence today of the patterns of authority following the mother–daughter, mother's–brother lines, such as are found in some matriarchal societies.

Differentiation

Traditionally there was no tendency towards social differentiation among the Eskimo. Although families differed in relative affluence, competence and grace, and though naturally, through the process of socialization the successful families tended to perpetuate their success through the ongoing generations, while poor families remained for the most part poor, there was no strong sense of class among the Eskimo people, and certainly no concept of caste. Simply because of having habits, ideas, and methods in common—it frequently happened that marriages were arranged between the members of the more successful families, and less successful families tended to conclude marriages among themselves, and on until the most problematical family in a camp group or constellation of camp groups might find themselves unable to find marriage partners for their children, but there was no rigidity about such patterns, and many exceptions, and certainly no articulation of class values. In an environment such as that of Keewatin, the severe elements and uncertainties of the game population were very effective levellers. In the traditional situation, even the most successful families lived in constant danger from the weather and the threat of starvation, and passed their lives in exessive simplicity. Moreover, the previously-mentioned non-assertive values and the habit of self-deprecation, never premitted Eskimo people to develop any sense of categorical superiority or stratification in the form of a class system. This point is of some significance to later observations of the acculturation situation, where the presence of the Whites developed patterns of social differentiation in a way which might well be described as a class system.

SOCIAL CONTROLS

The Authority of the Angatqut. Some reference has already been made to the authority of the *angatqut* in the exercise of social control over the camp groups. While many *angatqut* used their skills for the aid of their neighbours, they were always feared at the same time. The normal process of novitiate training and graduation made the existence of the *angatqut* a well-known fact in the Eskimo society, but other people too were often known to have considerable metaphysical powers and they were guardedly re-

spected. The controls which the *angatquq* could exercise over his group were, positively, the belief in his ability to bring about successful hunting, to modify the weather, to see ahead, to make soul journeys for the purposes of retaining the soul-kinship-balance, and to assist in bringing about the fruitfulness of barren women. Through his knowledge of taboos and amulets he could also help ward off malevolent spirits, of which there were believed to be a wide and quite terrifying variety. Negatively, the *angatquq* could induce illness, insanity, prolonged bad weather, and drive away game, cause sterility, and send malevolent spirits or demons to plague, terrify, or even abduct people who displeased him. Matters over which the *angatqut* exercised control, were, most importantly, the naming of individuals, the observance of taboos, marriage arrangements, and health. Some taboos were institutionalized, and observed by all appropriate people at all times, taboos, for example, such as those surrounding the behaviour of women after childbirth. There were many more abstinances and particular observations which may be required of individuals at the behest of the *angatquq* in order to deal with particular situations. For a time an unsuccessful hunter may be forbidden to lie with his wife, or it may be discovered, for example, that he has cooked sea food and land food in the same pot on the same day, and severe penitential abstinences will be required of him. The overt authority of the *angatquq* has now almost entirely disappeared from the social scene, but all but the youngest Eskimo in Keewatin are still influenced by patterns of shamanism, and the covert influence of some *angatqut* in Keewatin, including Rankin Inlet, is not to be entirely discounted.

Authority of the Elderly. It is not necessary here to repeat in detail what has already been described under other headings concerning the value of seniority, and the way in which social controls are very largely in the hands of the older members of the traditional Eskimo society for even many of the more acculturated young Eskimo adults in Rankin Inlet. The authority of their parental generation and even more the grandparental generation—is very real and very profound. In that the wisdom of the older people is sometimes not applicable to the new situations in the acculturation situation, it will be seen later, that tensions and ambivalencies are created by the existence of this continuing authority in the minds of the younger Eskimo adults. There is considerable documentation to show how young adults in the contemporary situation with unusually good economic opportunities, have unhesitatingly given these up, and in some cases moved back to where the old folk live, in areas where economic opportunity is much poorer, at the behest of one or other or both, of the old people. Control over marriage arrangements is still very largely in the hands of the elderly, and young adults in their addescent years today, with a few exceptions, accept the authority of their seniors in the matter of marriage.

Female Authority. Usually, in public eyes, most Eskimo women, especially those still of childbearing age, are meek, unaggressive, and obedient to their husbands. In the matter of sex they are taught that it is right and proper to be passive, and do not normally aquire the attitudinal resources to resist male aggressions, from whatever source. Many women genuinely fear non-marital sex, but do not know how to resist it. Their traditional domestic tasks were very burdensome, and the Eskimo woman lived a life of constant drudgery. Particularly in the presence of strangers she learned to keep her head averted and to say very little unless spoken to.

Paradoxically this picture of almost complete subservience appears to contrast with the strong indication that primordially the Eskimo society, if not matriarchal, certainly invested considerable authority or at least influence in the female rôle. It has already been suggested that close philological and etymological analysis of the Eskimo language, indicates that many of the words associated with power have female connotations also. Moreover the belief system and the folklore constantly reflect a powerful respect for the female, and ascribe femaleness to the most important deities, such as the sun, the powerful sea-mother, half-woman, half seal (or fish)—who created and controls the creatures of the sea and the weather—*Nuliajuk*—and even *Silap Inua*—the person Of the air. This may be because of the natural recognition that new lifes comes forth from women and so, just as the source of the future generations is the female, so the sources of life in the sea and the cosmos are also female. There is some suggestion in this that primordially the Eskimo did not, as is the case in a number of other aboriginal populations—directly relate the sexual act and the biological responsibility of the male in the process of procreation. It should be realized then, that it is femaleness, synonymous with creativity, which is basically respected by the Eskimo society, as distinct from womanliness, defined in terms of primarily a social rôle and secondarily as an object of sexual interest.

Interest in sexuality is in fact, among traditional Eskimo, relatively moderate. The popular literature has created entirely mistaken impressions, seeing occasional instances of arranged wife-exchange as evidence of promiscuity, rather than demonstrations of Eskimo practicality or adherence to the traditional religious system. Though the male rôle is primary concerned with the daily work of survival, the Eskimo realize that no hunter can successfully carry out his never-ending duty, without being sent forth properly clothed for the elements. The woman, in fact, is a vital part of the survival team, and appropriately valued. Though observing, then, the traditional habits of modesty and self-effacement until after menopause, the Eskimo women are nevertheless quite often quietly very influential in the decision-making of the Eskimo family group. When a family decides to leave a camp and establish with another camp, the senior woman in the family group is often a prime-mover in the decision. There are women *angatqut*,

though they do not achieve their full power until after menopause. Most Eskimo women, when they cease to be capable of child-bearing, become more outspoken, and are not infrequently notable for their strength of personality, their gay and occasionally bawdy humour, their extensive geneological and family-history knowledge, and for the respect which is accorded to them by all.

Ridicule

Quite the most frequent and usually most effective means of social control among the Eskimo is the use of ridicule. Children are disciplined by ridicule rather than by physical chastisement. Aberrant behaviour among adults is also controlled by ridicule, something to which virtually all Eskimo are exceptionally sensitive. This sensitivity to ridicule is something which will emerge as significant in our later discussion of the acculturation situation. Instances of serious conflict between individuals, where the matter at issue cannot be settled by withdrawal and subsequent ingratiation on the part of one or the other, (this latter pattern being the most frequent form of resolution of conflicts)—traditionally gave rise to formal and public exchanges of ridicule. Among some groups the two opponents would sit down opposite each other surrounded by the camp group, and also take turns to exchange blows on the opponent's shoulder, while each man in turn insulted the other as bitterly as he was able, while the group stood around and howled with derision. In Greenland, in Keewatin, among the Padlirmiut, and even more notably among the Aivilimiut, derisive songs were sung, accompanied by leering, provocative movements and laughter. They usually began with suggestions that a man was an incompetent hunter and a poor provider for his family, and furthermore to suggest that he hid food, or gorged it, rather than share with his family and neighbours, going on to hint that a man was incapable of controlling his wife's sexual behaviour, and even daring to suggest that the opponent may have an unhealthy interest in his female blood relatives. The loser in such a contest of ridicule was often so ashamed, that not only were his deviances thereafter firmly controlled, but an individual might withdraw for days to his dwelling, move away from the camp altogether, and in some instances completely disappear from the area, or even, indeed, take his life.

Ostracism.

Another form of social control exerted over individuals by a whole camp group was ostracism. This was a severe measure taken by group concensus against a deviant individual in instances of non-sharing, promiscuity, theft, or quick temper. The ostracism

may take the form of suspension of communication and visiting with the individual, refusal to hunt with him, and finally, refusal to share the products of the hunt with the deviant. In some instances an individual may even be banished from the group. Such sanctions are very severe, because a man's reputation often precedes him throughout the territory, and in as highly interdependent society as the Eskimo, not only is ostracism psychologically very hurtful, but can be a very material threat to actual survival.

It should be pointed out here once again that the Eskimo are exceptionally tolerant, and the use of the sanctions described here is quite rare, as too is the behaviour which might stimulate such sanctions. The very degree of dependency of individuals upon their peers is in itself a very strong form of social control.

Group Authority

While it has been stated that authority is invested in certain individuals within the camp groups by reason of their seniority in age, their intelligence and competence as leaders, or their metaphysical powers, it should be pointed out with equal force that all of the types of leader are usually people able most readily to articulate with the greatest accuracy, their perceptions of needs and aspirations already present in the minds of the discussants. As Frank Vallee has whimsically put it[1]—the Eskimo camp group is "constantly in committee". The great intimacy of individuals with each other in the small groups, and their intimacy with their situation and the natural phenonema which impinge upon it—is such that decision-making is a quiet and almost imperceptible process. It is rare that the opinions of a group *angatquq* run contrary to the needs and desires of the group with any great consistancy for very long. Nevertheless, the force of the traditional beliefs has been such that the guides, insights, and edicts brought forth through the mediumistic enquiries of the *angatquq*—are normally accepted without question. The *angatquq* is almost always at great pains to state that he personally is helpless, and that the decisions which issue from him as a result of his shamanistic trances and intercessions are the requirements of the great cosmological powers, and the influential souls—for whom he is no more than an intermediary. In fact one frequent shamanistic metaphor used by the *angatquq* for himself is the word *puuq*—which means "container", and equally, *tauq*—which means "the exchange", or in other words a mere spiritualistic vehicle. This conditioning, in the traditional situation, particularly among people for whom obvious intelligence, competence and esoteric skill are synonymous with exceptional metaphysical power—has prepared them, in terms

[1] Vallee, F. G., (Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology), Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada: personal communication.

of attitude and potential response—to be quite passive, receptive, and strongly impressed by the more obvious powers of the White man. This will be seen to be significant in the acculturation situation. Habituated, then, to the pattern of small-group decision making, and to the acceptance of social controls within that context, the Eskimo were not conditioned for the types of social control and decision-making now required of them in the modern large-settlement setting.

CHAPTER IV

Socialisation and Marriage

Possibly enough has already been said to give some indications as to the pattern of socialisation of children in the traditional Eskimo society. It will be necessary here simply to revive allusion to some of these aspects very briefly and to add a few more pertinent points.

Concept of Human Purpose

The observer has heard it stated frequently by the more philosophically-inclined Eskimo in Keewatin, (and indeed in other parts of the Arctic)—that the purpose of human existence is for the individual to make the fullest, and richest possible investment of his intellect, his knowledge, and his personality, in his own children. This is, after all, indicative of respect for long-established souls, and if a soul can be further enriched in the process of each earth-bound lifetime, the parent has succeeded in perpetuating something of value. In turn, the highly successful, and therefore highly-esteemed parent, is very likely to be himself celebrated and perpetuated when his own children come to the stage in life where they are responsible for the investment of name-souls in the future generation. Very recently a Sauniqtimiut said to the writer rhetorically—.

"What use am I, what purpose do I serve, if I cannot bring up my own children? I do not know myself, and I do not know what to do with myself and I have no sense of on-going significance in my life if I cannot bring up my children." (The statement was aroused by the man's concern about having his children taken away from the family in order to be educated by the government authorities in a residential school.)

Authority of Grandparents

It has already been stated that the grandparents are of vital influence in the socialisation of children. It is the grandparental generation that often decides on the marriage, and which decides on the naming of grandchildren, and upon whom the young couple with their first child particularly—depend very heavily for help and advice. It is common, once the grandparental generation is no longer able to procreate children of its own—for them to adopt the children to bring up themselves. Adopted children are usually those of the extended family, but not essentially.

In the contemporary situation, many of the older generation are medically problematical. White authorities are often much concerned about the pattern of old people taking babies in adoption, because they fear for the health of the infants. In many such grandparental adoptions observed by the writer in recent years, the baby has been unquestioningly given up by the young parents, and no amount of pressure upon them by the White authorities has reversed the decision. These instances stand to demonstrate quite clearly in the contemporary situation the strength of the authority of the grandparents, and it is constantly observed how, in the extended families, the grandparents continue throughout their lives to have a very active part in the socialisation of young children. They it is, who as frequently, if not more frequently, than the actual parents—take upon themselves the instruction of children in appropriate behaviour, in the direction of domestic tasks, and in the articulation of the traditional value system. In the few families where any breadth of knowledge still exists of the traditional belief system and folklore, it is of course the grandparents who pass this on to the young children.

Divisions of Functions by Sex

In the traditional situation, children are instructed in their rôles as males or females, from a very early age. Very soon after they are able to walk, little boys come increasingly under the influence of their father, their grandfather, their older brothers, and their uncles on either side. The division of socialisation functions by sex is quite clear, and normally quite firm, so that other than providing for the physical needs of the small boy the mother has relatively less to do in his training. Similarly the father usually has a relatively smaller part in the upbringing of daughters. This is not to say that there is any firmly institutionalised rigidity about this pattern, in that in situations where one or other of the partners is for some reason absent or incapacitated, intense efforts are made by the one remaining to compensate and to keep the family together. The writer has observed fathers caring for small children when their wives have been in hospital or deceased, even using the female apparel for carrying them on their back. Widows have also been heard, instructing their boys about game, weather and hunting. In the case of death of one or other of the parents, children are sometimes adopted out, or at least taken into foster care by other relatives. Quite frequently, however, the bereaved spouse will attempt to keep the children together and care for them until another spouse is acquired. There is no question about the propriety of remarrying. This is a practical necessity. This recognition of necessity is based not only on economic and personal comfort motivations, but on the fact that the normally quite disparate patterns of socialisation for boys and for girls make it virtually impossible for any parent to properly socialise their children of the opposite sex to themselves, and their remarriage is to the

advantage of the children. It has been observed that children who are adopted at the desire of the adoptive parents are well cared for, and usually receive as much, and in some cases even more affection that the natural children. However children who are adopted into a family out of necessity, because of death or separation, or through illness in the children's own family—are often less well cared for, and tend to become little servants to the family which takes them in. This latter tendency is particularly notable among the Padlirmiut who have suffered several generations of privation.

Life-Cycle of Male Child

From the moment that the small boy ceases to be the constant companion of his mother, riding in her parka hood, he is dressed and regarded increasingly as a little man. He accompanies his father when hunting and trapping, and often follows him around quietly when he visits from dwelling to dwelling in the camp group. In the traditional hunting camp, a five-year-old boy was usually quite competent at handling the thirty-foot-long dog whip, skilled at harnessing and unharnessing dogs, and even capable of setting a simple trap. Many boys had brought home their first seal or caribou by the age of seven or eight, at which stage skill with light fire-arms, or earlier with bows and arrows or a small cross-bow—was considered normal. In the Spring boys of that age were accustomed to contributing their bag of ptarmigan and Arctic hare to the family pot, and from the age of four or five, were accustomed to going fishing through the ice with jigging-lines. By puberty, a young man was usually a competent hunter, and was considered, very soon after, to be ready for the responsibilities of matrimony. In Keewatin and elsewhere in the Arctic, it has been common for a young man to be a father at the age of sixteen and a grandfather by thirty-three. It might also be pointed out that the extreme hardships of the Keewatin Eskimo life, (where prolonged low temperatures, incessant winds, and not infrequent periods of hunger—combine to burn out the Eskimo male quite rapidly), have been such that a man in his middle forties begins to refer to himself as *utuqa*—"an old man", few men survived beyond the middle fifties, and men over sixty were ancient rarities.

Life-Cycle of Female Child

The upbringing of the Eskimo girl was to an even larger degree in the hands of the female part of the family. As in many societies, there is a tendency among many Eskimo to more highly-value a male child, who represents a future provider. In fact in situations of great extremity, rare instances of infanticide have been known among the Eskimo, and it was usually female babies who could not be allowed to live on.

The Eskimo girl spends her whole life, usually, very close to her mother and grandmother. Even in the situations where the young bride goes to live with her husband's family, (and in the process usually becomes a close friend and associate of her mother-in-law)—over the lifetime, the Eskimo woman is frequently found to have recourse to her own mother for advice, assistance, and companionship. No less early than the little boy, the little Eskimo girl begins learning the economic tasks of the female rôle. In her third year, she would help with bringing ice for water, scraping the skins and learning how to control the oil lamp which lighed and heated the dwelling. Traditionally this was a half-moon shaped soapstone vessel in which seal blubber, or whale blubber, or inland, caribou fat—was rendered so as to seep into a long flat fibre wick lying along the straighter edge of the lamp. To keep this flame level, and smokeless, required constant attention.

As they acquired the co-ordination and dexterity, faculties which develop remarkably early among traditional Eskimo children—the little Eskimo girl learned to sew boots, mittens, and inner slippers. At the same time, she learned the attitudes and skills of baby-care, and applied them with seriousness and responsibility. In the hunting camp of Keewatin, it is by no means unusual to see a little girl of five or six, carrying in her own parka, made in exactly the same design as her mother's, a younger sibling, hardly smaller than herself. By the time she reaches puberty, the Eskimo girl has already spent many years with a baby on her back; and she is psychologically as well as technically and physiologically prepared for marriage. While the little boy is encouraged to be manly, vigorous and articulate when spoken to, (a sense of humor being particularly appreciated)—little girls are expected to be quiet, meek, very passive, and rarely to speak, (except among her peers), in anything louder than a whisper, and then only briefly.

Nevertheless, the young Eskimo girl at puberty is traditionally equipped with all of the attitudes and skills for her pre-arranged wifely and maternal rôle. By the age of fourteen or fifteen, she has demonstrated her ability to sew large garments, such as parkas, heavy, windproof and waterproof sealskin trousers, and strong sealskin boots, (or caribou skin among the inland people). At an appropriate time she is instructed by her mother to make a pair of boots for her betrothed, quite often a boy she has long known will be her husband, and with the symbolic acceptance of the boots, the young woman is fairly soon taken to wife.

The young wife may continue to live in her parents' home with her young husband until she has produced sufficient children that they need more space of their own; or if there is a greater need for female help in the home of her husband, she will go and live with the husband's family. As traditionally, young women were married very soon after puberty, the birth of babies out of wedlock was not very frequent, but in normal

circumstances all children are welcome in the Eskimo society, and as there was no clear concept of "illegitamacy", there was no stigma attached to such children. While the birth of children out of wedlock is not casually tolerated, people who traditionally lived in very intimate circumstances will respond to non-conubial pregnancy with what they feel to be realistic acceptance—using phrases which might be translated as "these things can happen". Babies born under such circumstances are usually given as much affection and care as any other, and often adopted. Just as there is normally no such thing as bachelordom or spinsterhood among the Eskimo, it is usually considered equally unthinkable that a marriage could be a genuine social reality without the procreation and upbringing of children. In fact the failure of a young couple to have children was traditionally considered enough reason for the marriage to be quite easily dissolved. Where prospects of remarriage according to the availability of other possible partners—were not sufficiently good, or affections too strong, childless young couples after their first year or so after marriage usually sought to adopt children.

Though normally the pelvic girdle of the average Eskimo woman is notably narrower than the average Caucazoid woman, childbirth among Eskimo women is often a less dramatic process. The pain is recognized, and accepted, and the Eskimo mother, traditionally adopting in most Arctic regions the genu-pectoral position, conserved her energy for the process of delivery, in which she was assisted often by her mother or other older women. By comparision with many Caucazoid women, labour often is quite short, and recovery remarkably rapid. The writer has seen a young women deliver a baby in the early hours of one morning, and on the evening of the same day walk three miles to a fish-net and back again with a sackfull of fish, carrying the newborn baby in her parka pouch on her back.

Traditionally the life of the Eskimo woman was far from easy, one of constant work, and subservience to the demands of her husband, her children, her mother, and grandmother, and to the rest of the extended family, all in an environment of considerably severity, and often with less nutrition than that enjoyed by the males of the family who needed a larger share of whatever food was available in order to retain their strength for more hunting. Nevertheless, as much more of the Eskimo woman's life is spent in the shelter of the dwelling, rather than in physical contact with the elements, the tendency is for Eskimo woman to outlive their men-folk, often by a decade or more. The oldest woman in Rankin Inlet for many years reached an age which is rare anywhere in the Arctic, reputed to be well over eighty-five. Many of the tasks of the Eskimo woman, though physically demanding, were repetitive and not a stimulative of the most refined intellectual faculties. However, the incisive speech, keen-eyed powers of observation, and opiniated influence exerted over their families by so many older Eskimo woman, seems to indicate that in many cases the women did not allow their pre-menopausal life of

drudgery to dull their minds. The evidence of female power in the Eskimo cosmology may partly derive from the facts that not only did the female represent Creativity and is thus closely associated with the life-giving powers of the cosmos—but also the Eskimo woman was able to pass her long days of waiting in the family dwelling, in the development of speculations and philosophisings, at least at some era in the more distant past of the Eskimo people. Indeed, in contemporary time also, Eskimo women usually went about their work in company of other women, and exchanged knowledge and honed their wits as they worked. Certainly it is common today that the all-important geneological knowledge of the group and much of the folklore which is passed on from generation to generation, is conserved in the minds of the older women.

Love

While it can be said that the Eskimo word for love, an expression which appears very frequently in the Eskimo stream of social sound, carries very largely the same connotations as the English word—it should be pointed out that it can equally validly be translated to mean, by Eskimo usage, compassion, pity, amiable feelings—but not necessarily "love" in the modern American romantic sense of the word. "Love"—as expressed in Eskimo is more commital, less emotionally expressed at the superficial level and more emotionally profound in a less demonstrative way. In the Eskimo sense of the word it is a concept of some significance in the process of socialisation. Adult Eskimo people today say that as children they were disciplined by love rather than by chastisement.

The Eskimo word for love is used very frequently in reference to the decisions which individuals make and the responsibilities which they feel concerning members of their extended family. Eskimo informants have said that they married their spouses not because they loved them at the time of marriage, but because it was the wish of their parents, and they married because they loved their parents. One informant said "Of course I did not love my husband when we were married, we were too young, we didn't think very much about anything, we did what our parents told us; but he looked after me, and hunted assiduously and always tried to bring in enough food for our children and me, and we love our children and so now of course we love each other". This statement demonstrates quite clearly the commital weight inherent in the Eskimo usage of the term "love". This was even more clearly demonstrated by the statement of the young couple who offered their unborn child, in the hearing of the writer, for adoption. They already had several very young children, the youngest still being unable to walk, and riding on the mother's back-pouch. "We have so much to do to care for the ones we have now", said the husband, "that we could not love the next one, we could not care for him properly, and we do not want to keep a baby that we cannot love, cannot care for. It would not be right".

The writer has other documentation which records statements like this, wherein a sense of responsibility, a functional commitment, is inextricably linked with the frequent use of the Eskimo word for "love". Children are frequently told how much they are loved, how lovable they are, and are asked as a way of improving their behaviour, not to be "good", but to be "*naglinanisak*"—"more lovable". The more obvious interweaving of the notions commitment, responsibility, care and compassion—with the notion of emotional affection—would seem then, as the language so profoundly carries social perceptions and emotional commitments—to be a very significant element in the socialisation process among the Eskimo people.

Verbalisation

This is the point to make clear the fact that, unlike some Indian groups, such as the Fringe Saulteaux of eastern Saskatchewan in Canada, child socialisation among the Eskimo is very far from being an inarticulate process. Eskimo children are constantly being instructed, exhorted and informed. Old people who can no longer perform their traditional technical tasks themselves, spend many days inculcating principles to their grandchildren and even to their adult children. Values, taboos, and attitudes are often clearly articulated. Eskimo children are treated to repeated and careful explanation and teaching both of the technology and the social usages. As has been mentioned, ridicule is used in socialisation and in teaching, and warm, cheerful humour and joking is highly appreciated. Joking however, is not approved of between young uncles and their nieces, and between brothers and sisters-in-law. Such restraints are common in many societies to check the development of any possible socially unacceptable sexual interest. Other than for marital purposes, however, it may be said that to a large degree Eskimo people truncate their interests socially within their own sex group, largely because the very clear division of socialisation rôles according to sex, structures their purview of interest appropriately along own-sex friendship lines.

MARRIAGE

Child Betrothal

Traditionally, and to a large extent in contemporary time in Keewatin, Eskimo marriages were most usually based on arrangements concluded by the parents of the young couple in question. There is a gradually-increasing incidence of marriage between young people based on spontaneous mutual attraction and developed romantic relations. Even so, in virtually all instances, marriage has been agreed upon by the respective parents of the young people. There are an increasing number of instances where a young

man may find himself attracted to a young women, sufficiently to wish to marry her, in which case the procedure has been for the young man to ask his parents to approach the parents of the young woman. The marriage is then contingent upon the agreement of all parents concerned. Most of the mature marriages in the Keewatin population, including Rankin Inlet, have been by the process of parent arrangement. By far the majority of these were arrangements made when the marital partners concerned were still very young. There are instances of close friends, men who have hunted and lived together for long periods, and therefore know with a high degree of predictability in the stable traditional situation, how the personality and capability of a child is likely to emerge in adulthood—agreeing upon the betrothal of their children in earliest infancy, or even before the babies are born. Two men, finding their wives to be pregnant, will agree that if one baby is a boy and the other a girl they will, in the fullness of time, be married. Though this pattern is declining, it was successful in a large number of instances, in the traditional situation, in establishing unions between compatible people. Usually, the children involved in infant betrothals knew their prospective spouses, and often grew up with them in the same camp, or at least saw much of each other over the years before puberty. Knowing each other well, thus, and after their coming together, usually spending several years in the same dwelling and under the close guidance of one or the other of their parents, many of the young Eskimo couples began marriage already well-adjusted to their partners.

Not infrequently, a profound association develops between the marriage partners as they share the viccitudes and joys of life together and the upbringing of children. In recent years there have been instances where child betrothals, recorded by the missionaries at the time of their arrangement—have later been insisted upon by the missionaries, even though the contracting families had for various reasons moved apart and continued to live in separate areas for many years. In these instances the young betrothed people were brought together as total strangers, and in two cases recorded in the group under study, where the individuals were culturally discongruent due to hospitalisation, the result was disastrous. Neither couple stayed together, but because their marriages were concluded by formal religious ceremony in the mission church, it was deemed impossible to dissolve the marriages. In both cases the young women have borne children to men other than their husbands, while the young husbands have drifted, quite often involving themselves in socially unacceptable incidents, from one northern location to another.

While the practice of child betrothal among the generation of Keewatin Eskimo resident in the settlements and still producing children—is now falling very largely into disuse, the practice of marriage by arrangement is still widespread. An increasing number of young Eskimo people are evincing the desire to stay single for some years after puberty,

while their parents still regard it as their duty to find marriage partners for their children. The researcher has recorded over one ten-year period, (1960–70) nine generally-known instances where young people have succeeded in resisting the arrangements concluded by their parents, but in almost every other instance, the young people have submitted to the will of their parents. Of those, some have resisted the initial arrangements made by the parents, but submitted to alternative arrangements made subsequently.

It has been pointed out that is was the general pattern for people in Keewatin to become married not long after puberty, about the age of sixteen in the case of young men, and sometimes younger in the case of the young women. This pattern is no longer the norm, particularly because of the influence of the modern schooling system and the changes in life-style and aspiration which it has created, but it can still be stated that it is as yet quite abnormal for either young men or young women to be single after the age of twenty.

Having recognized the existance of the arranged marriage pattern traditionally, and of its persistance, though in increasingly vitiated form, it should also be noted that the children involved are also the recipients of respect from their parents, first of all in the older pattern of marriage arrangement, and in the recent changes wherein their feelings are taken into account.

The traditional pattern, whereby young couples lived according to convenience and the most effective deployment of the human resources—with the parents of either the young husband or the young wife—has already been mentioned.

As this part of the discussion is intended largely as cultural background, it will be necessary to return to the question of marriage in the contemporary situation at a later point.

HUNTING (END-NOTE)

It should now be obvious that most of the major aspects of the Eskimo culture revolve around the central activity and pre-occupation of the Eskimo society—hunting. Actual survival of the whole society depended upon intense and unceasing concentration on this activity. The metaphysical rationale gave profound religiosity to the central activity of hunting, the folklore is very concerned with hunting, and the social structure, the norms, mores, and institutions of the Eskimo society largely supported, enabled, and gave social and intellectual coherence in forming a society adjusted in every possible way to survival by hunting in an exceptionally difficult environment. The value system guides and justifies the patterns of social relationship best suited to this means of survival.

Much has already been written about the hunting technology of the Eskimo, and as this is a socio-cultural narrative rather than technological treatise, the reader seeking general background on that subject—is referred to the quite extensive literature. It can hardly

be too frequently emphasised, however, that very little of that technology could have been effective without a substantial degree of co-operativeness within and indeed beyond the family unit within the hunting camp. Particularly before the advent of firearms, (and there are old people in Keewatin who remember their fathers using bows and arrows, more notably the Back's River area people, being the most remote from contact, though even the coastal people returned to those techniques when they ran out of ammunition)—active collaboration in hunting was a necessity, whether the task was that of hunting caribou inland, or seal-hunting through the breathing holes in the ice on the coast. The inland hunters could not afford to have a whole group of the faster-moving caribou run away after one man's kill, so surround techniques and the various methods of hunting swimming caribou in the summer—were evolved. Not only winter seal-hunting required collaboration, on the coast, but also the summer hunting of the pods of migratory beluga whales, and even greater co-ordination was needed in the earlier hunting of the great Greenland whales that frequented the area until the turn of the century. Even fishing, for both inland and coastal people—involved collaboration, particularly in the construction, maintenance and use of fish weirs. All of the technology was supported, as we have seen, by a belief system and a social structure felicitously appropriate to the needs of the hunting group. In the traditional culture we are presented with a profoundly religious and a socially, emotionally, and intellectually well-balanced society, achieving in all of these closely-related dimensions a highly integrated socio-cultural entity.

PART TWO

CHAPTER V

The Incursions

In preparing the ground for a study of acculturation, it is necessary to have some understanding of the historical background in which contact between the Eskimo of Keewatin and the Whites[1] occurred. It is often popularly stated that the Eskimo have remained until very recently completely out of touch with the influences of the white people, and while it is largely true that generalisations as to their remoteness and isolation can be made, it is necessary to state that the history of contact is quite long and though until recently sporadic, not without some significance. While it is true that the most profound changes in Eskimo social patterns have been wrought by the influences of the relatively recently-established White powers in the Arctic, it should be realised that even the earliest European visitors to the Arctic bore with them evidences of knowledge and technology so vastly different to that of the Eskimo they met, that a most profound impression of the power of the white people was inevitably created. While the folklore of the Eskimo does not appear to have retained many specific historical references to the earlier contacts with the Whites, the fact of their existence and some notion of their qualities does seem to have persisted. While there have been a number of instances of white people dying in groups in the Arctic because of their inability to deal with the conditions and maximize its resources—it is the long-term evi-

[1] Essentially for purposes of ease of reading, and after considerable concern about giving offense, the writer has decided to trust the good-will of those who read this—in his decision to use the terms "Eskimo" and "White". The terms "Inuk" and "Inuit" (pl.) are appearing increasing, though often ungrammatically, among those who are socially and politically sensitive, though in common English, the word "Eskimo" remains more general currency and is used, as here, with no attitudinal loading, but as the most-widely-understood designation. Contemporary writers have also striven to find alternatives to the term "White"—which has variously been loaded, over time, with undertones of colonialistic favour at one end of the attitudinal scale, and as an epithet of disgust at the other. Terms like "Euro-American", "Euro-Canadian" and "Caucazoid" have been tried, and often criticized as cumbersome, laboured, precious, patronising, awkward, or simply inaccurate or inappropriate. Those who know the writer will never question his racial attitudes, but may thank him for a rare attempt at simplicity of expression. R.G.W.

dence of their more general technical successfulness which has remained the more impressive in the minds of so many Eskimo.

The Explorers

As early as the year 1004 A.D., Karlsefni is believed to have landed on Baffin Island, and many other Norsemen seem to have passed through the Eastern part of the Arctic during several subsequent centuries. One group of Norsemen is even believed by some to have penetrated into the centre of the American continent to the south of Manitoba, though reliable evidence is unavailable. (This researcher, with no professional reputation at stake in that field, admittedly, has for long been hoping to interest accepted archaeologists in possible evidence of Norse occupation in Ungava). Following the first notably-hostile contact with the Eskimo of Baffin Island by Sir Martin Frobisher in 1576, the list of European incursions into Eskimo territory grows rapidly and lengthily. Frobisher had further bellicose contacts in two subsequent years, and the second voyage of John Davis in 1568 also involved an exchange of hostilities with Eskimo on the Labrador coast. Though un-named British fishermen may possibly have reached Hudson's Bay before 1610, Henry Hudson was the official "discoverer" of the Bay, and again there is record of bloody contact with the Eskimo. In this instance some of the ringleaders of the mutiny wherein Hudson was abandoned, were killed by Eskimo in Hudson Strait.

From the early part of the seventeenth century on, European travellers were increasingly in touch with the territory of the Keewatin Eskimo. Thomas Button penetrated almost half-way up Roe's Welcome Sound in 1613, and in the winter of 1619–1620, sixty out of a party of sixty-three, led by the Dane Jens Munck, died of scurvy at the mouth of the Churchill River. In 1613 this coast was visited from Roe's Welcome Sound south by Captain Luke Foxe and Captain Thomas James, financed respectively by the rival merchants of London and Bristol. The mercantile interest behind European incursions into this part of the Arctic has been a significant motivation influencing European-Eskimo contacts, then, for well over three hundred years. Captain Z. Gillam, accompanied by Monsieur des Groseillers, did a successful winter's trading at the bottom of Hudson's Bay in 1668–69, an enterprise which was the prelude to the highly-significant event of May 2nd 1670, the issuance of the Royal Charter giving broad mercantile and governmental powers to the "Gentlemen Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay"—more commonly known as The Hudson's Bay Company. From 1670 onward, trading vessels were coming into Hudson's Bay every summer, and though the interest in trade was essentially in the fur found below the tree-line, brief contacts with the Eskimo of Hudson's Bay by ships *en voyage*—were not infrequent.

Rankin Inlet, situated at the northwest corner of Hudson's Bay, lies in the area where many speculative geographers imagined, until two hundred years ago—that they might find a sea passage—"the Straits of Anián"—the fabled sea route to Cathay. On Marble Island at the mouth of Rankin Inlet, the crews of the ships "Albany" and "Discovery" died with their commander, James Knight between 1719 and 1721. The crews of the ships, employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, are known to have made contact with the Eskimos, (Samuel Hearne heard accounts of the tragedy from Keewatin Eskimos in 1769)—but, partly, it seems, because of their own fears, they were not able to survive. The Keewatin coast from Churchill to Repulse Bay and including Wager Bay—was covered by a Royal Navy expedition of two ships under the command of Captain C. Middleton in 1741–42. Rankin Inlet takes its name from that of a senior though quite undistinguished officer of the expedition, Lieutenant J. Rankin. Four years later, two ships led by Captain William Moore covered largely the same area, and in 1761 Captain Christopher in the sloop "Churchill" was sent to explore the last possible hope for a sub-polar Northwest Passage—Chesterfield Inlet. He penetrated inland along the Inlet for a hundred miles, and then returned the following year to pursue his enquiry right along Baker Lake and to the mouth of the Thelon River. All of these explorers were led by hopes not only of finding a passage to Asia, but also of discovering mineral wealth, accounts of mineralisation in this part of the Arctic having already reached them from contacts with the Eskimo. The most well-known and unhappy contact between a white man, his Indian helpers, and the Eskimo, occured in 1771, when Samuel Hearne, a Hudson's Bay Company man, crowned his long walk from Churchill to the Arctic coast in search of copper, with the spectacle of massacre of Eskimos camping on the Coppermine River, committed by his uncontrollable Chippewayan guides. Hudson's Bay Company seamen were again penetrating the inlets of Keewatin in 1792–93 when Captain Duncan charted Corbett Inlet, part of the territory of the Sauniqtumiut, and later travelled again the length of Chesterfield Inlet and Baker Lake and even went thirty miles up the Thelon River.

Early in the last century, in 1824 Captain G. F. Lyon of the Royal Navy, set out to winter at some point on the north part of Roe's Welcome Sound and after twice coming near to shipwreck on the Sound was forced to retire to England, but not before he had made contact with Thule culture Eskimo on Coat's Island, to the south of Southampton Island. The courageous Captain George Back of the Royal Navy penetrated the remote territory of the Urqusissalimiut in an overland journey in 1834. Some evidence of the remoteness of this area lies in the fact that his were the only maps of any type of that area until as very recently as 1948. This same area is believed to be that in which Captain Sir John Franklin and some of his men perished after abandoning their ships in 1848. The Aivilimiut of Repulse Bay made the acquaintance of Doctor John Rae in the

winter of 1846–47, during the explorations of this famous Hudson's Bay Company traveller. Though Rae was at one stage unknowingly within a relatively short distance of the beset Franklin ships, he never made contact, and the search parties which entered the area of the northwest Keewatin in the subsequent twelve years, made frequent contact with the Eskimo. During that mid-century period, the northern-most Keewatin Eskimo found among them no less than thirty-three wintering ships, while in the same area there were three summer expeditions by sea, four overland trips and two other journeys in small boats. Indeed the writer has remarked elsewhere that many of the most notable European incursions into Eskimo territory were by members of the British marine looking for access to trade, glory, and each other. In the years 1853–54, Doctor John Rae was again in Keewatin, moving north from Chesterfield Inlet by way of the Quoich River to Repulse Bay, where he wintered. In 1855, a Hudson's Bay traveller named James Anderson was in the Back's River-Chantrey Inlet among the Uqusissqlimiut, following up on Rae's discoveries, though his communications with the Eskimo were inhibited by language difficulties, and thus the information he brought back was very limited in scope and value.

One of the most successful Arctic travellers of the latter half of the nineteenth century was an American who benefitted seriously from his contacts with the Eskimo. Charles Francis Hall succeeded in northern travel because he learned and applied Eskimo methods of travel and survival. He wintered with the Aivilimiut of the Repulse Bay area in 1865–66 and travelled extensively with these people. The degree of unfamiliarity between some of the northern Keewatin sub-groups is demonstrated by Hall's failure to reach King William Island because his Aivilimiut guides feared to make contact with the people of that area.

The Whalers

By the middle of the last century, another not-insignificant group of Europeans were increasingly to be found in contact with the Eskimo of Keewatin. The records show that Hall used whaling ships to take him to the starting points of his journeys. Actually, British whalers had been plying Canadian Arctic waters to a very high latitude since 1817. When the official records of formal expeditions into this territory are as plentiful as they are, it is reasonable to assume, by reference to the growth of the relatively less well-recorded British whaling industry, that the number of whalers active in the Eastern Arctic probably exceeded the ships of the Gentlemen Adventurers of the Hudson's Bay Company and the officers and gentlemen of the Royal Navy. By mid-century it was the regular habit of many whaling ships to winter in the Arctic, so as to be readily accessible to the whaling grounds the following season. The whalers, who often employed

Eskimos as pilots and deck help, frequently wintered near to Eskimo camps. It was the whalers who really developed, in a rather casual fashion, the beginnings of the fur trade with the Keewatin Eskimo. Though their main interest was in whales, they did not miss the opportunity for other forms of trade, and in the process the Eskimo acquired the trade goods which began to affect their material values and needs. Steel knives, steel needles, fabric clothing, metal cooking utensils, metal harpoon heads, and occasionally some fancy items such as small mirrors, scissors, and concertinas, were traded to the Eskimo by the whalers in return for Arctic Fox pelts, sealskins and walrus ivory. Brass telescopes, concertinas, knives and harpoons—are still to be found in the homes of north Keewatin Eskimo, still in use, as relics of these early trading days. Vivid evidence of how the Scottish whalers and some of their Eskimo neighbours passed their hours of recreation during the long winters of waiting—is available in the reel and strathpey patterns and tunes which are used by Eskimo today in community dances—and by the blue or grey eyes, paler skins and Caledonian cragginess of feature seen occasionally among Eskimo descendents of Eskimo who befriended the wintering strangers. One Eskimo family in Keewatin, branches of which live in Churchill, Eskimo Point, Whale Cove and Rankin Inlet—demonstrates that one of those early ships had as a crew-man a tent-visitor possessed of the most vigorous strain of negroid chromosomes. At least ninety-five years ago, whalers were wintering on Marble Island, in the mouth of Rankin Inlet. After two years of travel north of Chesterfield Inlet to King William Island and back, the American engineer Lieutenant F. Schwatka and his party returned south by way of a whaler which had been wintering at Marble Island.

The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw increasing contact with the Keewatin Eskimo by white men employed by the Canadian Government. By far the most prominent was Doctor J. B. Tyrrell who travelled very extensively in the interior of Keewatin from the Dubawnt River as far north as the Aberdeen Lake–Schultz Lake–Beverly Lake–Baker Lake chain, took in the Kazan River area, the Yathkyed Lake and Ferguson River area as well as coasting the west side of Hudson's Bay from Chesterfield Inlet south. D. T. Hanbury wintered with Baker Lake Eskimo in 1901 during dog team travels extending from Winnipeg to Coppermine on the Arctic coast. By the turn of the century the Canadian Government was sending in its own ships to establish sovereignty in the Canadian Arctic, and to collect tax fees from the whalers. The Canadian Government ship "Neptune" with A. P. Low, wintered at Chesterfield Inlet in 1903, and established an R. C. M. P. detachment at Cape Fullerton on the west shore of Roe's Welcome Sound in 1904. The following year the Canadian Government ship "Arctic" under Captain Bernier wintered at Cape Fullerton, which was an important geographical location for the Eskimo of Daly Bay, Wager Bay and Repulse Bay. It was also the point of land to which Eskimo crossing from Southampton Island headed, in

Many Rankin Inlet people arrived by dog-team, and kept their teams for some years after settling. A "paralysed" 'graduate' of K.R.P. (Itivia)—is to this day driving his.

All adult Rankin Inlet Eskimo came to the settlement from iglu life, and still use the iglu when travelling for hunting.

Rankin Inlet "agency area", facing north-east. L—R Hudson's Bay Co. warehouse, the Mine, (back centre), the original school and some staff residences, (centre), the Anglican Church and Catechist's Hut. Mid-june, 1964.

The main track from the air-strip, facing east, early winter, 1964. L—R "Staff dwelling", the derelict Mine, the Catholic Church.

winters when the ice permitted. Explorers and scientists were still finding Keewatin a fruitful area for research in the 'twenties. From 1921 to 1924 the Fifth Thule Expedition led by Knud Rasmussen, passed through the Keewatin region to study the "Caribou Eskimo". These cheerful Danes and their Greenlandic companions are well remembered by the Keewatin Eskimo, and are usually referred to as the *Aquqituumiut*—the Eskimo word for "Greenlanders". They stayed in the country, travelled within it extensively, and communicated rather well. The serious contribution of Dr Rasmussen's party to the knowledge of his era concerning the central Arctic and it's people—remains as the last great monument to classical expeditionary scientific work. The Fifth Thule Expedition Report is still a valued source of reference.

We can now see a pattern of overlapping waves of European influences touching the lives of the Keewatin Eskimo—first the explorers, then the whalers, then the traders, and hard on the heels of the latter—the Missions. It is interesting to note that the motivation of all but the Missions was basically mercantile or commercial, and that none sought physical conquest of the aboriginal population, as they all wished, for their separate special reasons, to have the friendship and co-operation of the Eskimos. At the same time, their obvious powers and technical competence—(all but Hearne confronted them with very advanced means of travel—by comparison with their own, and were incredibly well-provided with all the needs of survival for a year or more)—were such that they inevitably commanded respect and quite often evoked even fear in the minds of the Eskimo. Nevertheless, all of these contacts had been sporadic, impermanent and relatively short-lived. While the trade goods acquired in the process of these contacts began the process of changing Eskimo needs and aspirations—the very impermanence of the European visitors in the Eskimo territory to some degree held in check any tendency on the part of the Arctic people to radically change their traditional patterns of life. It was the establishment among the Eskimo of permanent trading posts which was of greater acculturative significance.

THE FUR TRADE

From the accounts of some of the explorations during which Keewatin Eskimo were contacted by white people, it is already obvious that the centre which was literally the bastion of the fur trade in Canada—Fort Prince of Wales—has been of long historical significance in the story of Eskimo acculturation in the region under study. Only the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company was until relatively recently interested principally in extending its fur trading activities to the south of its base at the mouth of the Churchill River—has historically prevented that location from being of greater significance than it has, resting as it does, on the southern fringe of the range of the Keewatin Eskimo. When one considers that Fort Prince of Wales was established, by James Knight, in

1717, one is impressed by the relatively small degree to which that centre influenced Keewatin Eskimo life until the last four or five decades. An important factor was the hostility of the Indian people, who showed their resentment of any Eskimo incursions beyond the tree-line boundary on which the Churchill site stands. The autocratic fur trade masters might have had it within their powers to curb the hostility of the Indians toward the Eskimos—had they been seriously interested in trading with the latter. However we find that it is as recently as 1911 that the first Hudson's Bay Company trading post was established among the Keewatin Eskimo—at Chesterfield Inlet. This was followed by the establishment of a Hudson's Bay trading post at Repulse Bay—ten years later—in the autumn of 1921. The permanent fur trade was taken to the Padlirmiut and inland Eskimo generally, by the establishment of trading posts at Eskimo Point on the west coast, about 150 miles north of Churchill, and deep inland at Baker Lake—both in the summer of 1924.

Since the twenties other trading posts have been opened and closed by the Hudson's Bay Company, their histories varying with the fluctuations of the white fox cycle and the whims of the world fur market. The Post at Nunalla, south of Eskimo Point—was opened in 1929 and closed again in 1936. Deep inland in the south Keewatin plain—the Padlie Post, which in fact was at various times located in two different places—was opened by the Company in 1927, trading principally with the Ahiamiut and the Sikulijjuammiut of Yathkyed Lake, and finally closed in 1960. The post of Tavani, a little south of the Wilson River on the sea-coast, was originally the site of a mining interest, (Dominion Exploration), beginning in 1927, with the property lapsing to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1929. The French Reveillon Frères Company established there too during that period, but sold out to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1936, after a time when fur yields had been so low as to over-strain their capital resources. (The reason why the Hudson's Bay Company has been able to survive its competitors in the north has always been its long capital resources to carry it through the lean years during the low part of the seven-year fox cycle). However the Tavani Post was closed in 1947, after which the population of that part of the coast traded either into Eskimo Point or Chesterfield Inlet.

Before the arrival of the established trading posts, the Eskimo, as has been pointed out, were not unfamiliar with the material advantages of trading with the white men when the opportunity offered, but such opportunities were so sporadic as not to have created anything more than a sense of desire for the type of goods that could be obtained—but certainly no pattern of dependency or commitment to the sources of trade. Though usually remaining within their enormous traditional area of range, the Eskimo were not particularly circumscribed in their nomadic movements by any need to stay within reach of any specific spot.

Trade was incidental to the lives of the Keewatin people, other than their occasional meetings with people of different groups, wherein sealskins, for example, were exchanged for wood, ivory for musk-ox horn and soapstone for caribou hides—or any other possible or appropriate variations. Hunting satisfied almost all needs most of the times. Game was taken with bows of musk-ox horn or caribou antler, laminated, and with spears and harpoons. Fish were caught with jiggers, leisters and stone fish-traps in the mouths of shallow streams. Inland, the people depended very heavily on the caribou. Other than in the Perry River area of Queen Maud Gulf, summer bird life was not overabundant in Keewatin, and fishing neither totally satisfying nor always dependable. In years when the caribou migrations moved far from the regular paths of the people, starvation was not uncommon. On the coast, the people had a larger variety of game resources—seal, whale, walrus and occasional polar bear, as well as some summer birds, the fish, and the caribou which often come near to the coast to benefit from the inevitable seawinds, in the worst of the mosquito season.

Not for any of these people could the life ever be described as easy. In addition to the many dangers of the Arctic hunting life, and the uncertainties of game resources and weather—everything technical was accomplished with tools and materials which made the work laborious. Oil-lamps and cooking pots were made of soapstone painstakingly hollowed and fashioned with harder stone, clothing was sewn with bone needles, bowstrings and fishlines were made of braided sinew, and often cutting and drilling were infinitely slow and painful where metal was lacking and flints were used.

For most of the year, transportation was by dog-team, (with skin-and-frame water craft used, in addition to walking, during the summer). The dogs were vital to hunters who needed to range over considerable distances to find enough game to sustain both their families and the dogs themselves. The families depended too on the dogs to move them all, when game conditions necessitated seasonal migrations, but for all families personal possesions were few and simple in the extreme, and teams of two, three, four or five considered sufficient. And in almost all activities, of course, extended group collaboration was important.

The fur trade brought about a significant change in these patterns. Where traditionally the time of the hunting camp group was entirely taken up with the acquisition of meat and practical hides to be put to hard-wearing purposes—the desire to acquire trade goods which made their way of life so significantly easier, gradually shifted the emphasis of activity more and more toward trapping. It was necessary, in order to acquire sufficient fur to make extended journeys over long trap-lines, sometimes in areas not well supplied with game—and so it became necessary, wherever possible, to increase the size of the dog teams. This meant that more time had to be spent hunting for dog feed and less for human food; but here the rifle played a vital part. As long as there was game available,

it could be taken more easily and more quickly with the rifle. As the trapping-oriented emphasis increased, hunting became more and more ancillary to trapping. An important item of trade began to be flour, which together with baking powder and some animal fat could be used to make bannock, a simple but rather un-nutritious form of food which the women could prepare, thus saving the hunter some of the time traditionally given to hunting for food for the family. Bannock became a staple of Eskimo diet, particularly in times of game shortage. Though still accustomed to hunting at least in pairs, for safety as much as for companionship, as well as for more effective hunting—the Eskimo were rendered less dependent on group help in the act of hunting, because of the efficiency of the modern rifle.

At the same time, the Eskimo hunter-trappers acquired a new dependency upon resources available only beyond the group, the trading post. Bows and arrows were discarded, and sustenance depended more and more upon the possession of ammunition, which could only be bought from the trade store for fur, or on credit. Women became increasingly dependent on steel for knives, steel needles, and metal cooking utensils. In an environment where game resources were never constant or reliable—the desire to have on hand the material for bannock increased dependency on the store. Until well into the late 1950's, most Eskimo used rendered-oil taken from their basic game animal, the seal, or the caribou, as their principal fuel, used in the *kudliq*[1]—for heat and light. But before urbanisation, most Eskimo became increasingly dependent upon the trader for the fuels used in the portable kerosene or naphtha stoves sold at the store.

Since the very outset, the Eskimo have been habituated to the longterm credit system which the traders established from the outset. They were principally interested in acquiring fur, and readily staked the trappers with many months' supply of ammunition, flour, traps, tea, tobacco, clothing, fabrics, and other necessities, with the understanding that this debt would be paid off in fur during the trapping season. Very often it seemed that the value of the fur at the end of the trapping season roughly approximated to or fell slightly below the value of the goods which had been acquired by the trapper. Sometimes however the trader "carried" a trapper for several winters, during low points in the fur cycle. In good years, the most successful trappers in a few instances acquired sufficient credit that they were able to invest in capital goods such as small boats. All along the coast, there were in Eskimo camps, though rarely more than one in any one camp group—motor-powered whale boats or larger single-masted and motor-powered Peterhead sealer vessels, which were acquired often by a group of men pooling their trapping savings—during the heyday of the fur trade. Generally, however, it can be said that the Eskimo lived in a regular debit-credit relationship with one trading post

[1] The semi-lunar soap-stone lamp.

in a pattern which led to increasing economic dependency. Few Eskimo ever felt any sense of burden about debt, and indeed it was eagerly advanced to most men by the traders, who were anxious to have the Eskimo commit themselves to bringing in the all-important fur.

The long continuation of the debit–credit relationship between the Eskimo trappers and their trading post—developed, over the years, a pattern whereby the quasi-nomadic movements of the camp groups were circumscribed by the possible radius of travel from the camps and the trapping areas to the trading post. Where traditionally Eskimos may have travelled over many hundreds of miles within their traditional sub-group range, in some cases not covering the same ground for many subsequent years, there developed a tendency for Eskimo to follow a more regular pattern of movement, geographically more closely tied to one trading post base. The firmness with which this pattern developed has, in some areas, been known to create over a generation or two, quite problematical demographic imbalances. A decade ago in another part of the Eastern Arctic there was one group which had a serious surplus of marriageable females, and in another there was a group wherein an increasing number of young men found it impossible to find wives from within their own dialect group.

Not only was there developing with the fur trade, a slightly less general geographical focus in the minds of the Eskimo, as a result of their trading post orientation, but new types of social focus were emerging. For the first time, in the history of the Eskimo, their economic activities were partially turned to products of significance outside the family group of the camp group. Subtle and as-yet hardly-perceptible changes were occuring within the family structure. The accounting system of the trading post usually credited the fur brought in to specific individuals, and though trappers quite often went out in pairs, there was a tendency for fur not only to be kept within the family group, and seen as the personal property of the trapper who took the fur. Trapping is a particularly demanding, arduous, and wearing profession. It requires long journeys, great endurance and quiet patience in face of privation, and some very special skills. It also requires the mental attitudes of an individualist.

It is not insignificant that when the established trading posts galvanized the economic activities of the Eskimo by their maximization of the fur trade, the most successful trappers, those most physically and mentally able to trap and those most highly motivated by the benefits to be derived from the fur trade—were mainly in their prime of life and younger men, rather than the senior generation. In the very early years of the build-up of the fur industry, then, the principal material providers of the Eskimo family group became slightly less dependent on the wisdom, experience and knowledge of the senior generation, and slightly more dependent on the judgement of the trader. For the camp group to achieve the greatest success in, for example, whale hunting or caribou

hunting, particularly before firearms were common, it was important that the whole camp group combine its efforts on many occasions. Trapping by contrast, is a much more lone activity. As trapping became more and more an important part of the winter's activity, the social focus of the camp group moved away from total-group activity toward the deployment of their human resources as small trapping teams, or partners. Because of the variation and frequency of dangers of travel in the Arctic winter, Eskimo usually prefer to sled in pairs. Many can and often do travel alone, but in every way, pairing is more efficient, safer, and more pleasant, particularly for people as habitually sociable as the Eskimo. Again, because of the commercial tendency to credit the fur to the individual, the Eskimo response was to emphasize their traditionally very strong family orientation, and father-and-son, brother-and-brother, uncle-and-nephew, trapping-partner teams became usual. Thus we see, starting with the larger whaling communities of the Thule culture ancestors of the modern Eskimo, a progressive pattern of truncation of Eskimo social orientation. More and more, the emphasis was on individual —or to be more general, the closer family, and less and less on the larger camp group. For comparative purposes, it is interesting to note the relationship between the rather large camp groups of Cumberland Sound, on Baffin Island, and the fact that they are notably whale-hunters and seal-hunters—giving the minimal and most casual attention to fox-trapping. As we shall see later—this trend toward closer family orientation and even smaller hunting camps was one least likely to prepare the Eskimo for the larger community patterns of life.

Social Differentiation

The trend toward social differentiation among the Eskimo is something of potentially increasing significance. It has already been pointed out that traditionally there was no sense either of class or caste among the Eskimo people, as neither the practical considerations of the traditional means of existence, nor the value system which provided the guide and justification—permitted the development of such tendencies. There was little room for any system of social separateness in such an intensely inter-dependent society. It is therefore of interest to note the beginnings of distortion of the traditional values which occurred with the development of a special class of white men's servants around the established posts in the Arctic settlements. Though the R.C.M.P. at Cape Fullerton began from 1903 onwards to employ one or two men and their families—on a more or less regular basis as dog-team drivers, guides and chore helpers—it was the long-established position of the Post Servant which the traders brought into the Arctic a few years later, which more generally began the process of differentiation. Each White agency, initially the R.C.M.P. and the Hudson's Bay Company, then the Missions, then the Department of Transport Weather Stations, and in latter years the Department of

Northern Affairs—gathered around them Eskimo helpers who remained permanently resident in the settlements. They were the first to acquire wooden dwellings, (though much smaller and more primitive than any occupied by the Whites) and their lives were more strongly oriented toward the satisfaction of the desires of their employers than toward many other forms of social commitment. Taking for granted their own sense of superiority, the white people clearly evinced the attitude that the Eskimo who were most closely associated with them were, by definition, the most superior Eskimo. Certainly this attitude was gradually adopted by the settlement-servant Eskimo themselves, most particularly in the long-established settlements of Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet. In the present era, both settlements contain a quite-substantial group of second or third-generation settlement Eskimo who have acquired the ingratiating social manner, the smattering of English, and the set of appropriate "middle-class" social and moral attitudes which the white people have inculcated in them over the last four decades. A quick rule of thumb whereby the newcomer can identify the settlement-servant "superior-class" Eskimo is not only by the frequency with which they greet every white person with a rather tense smile, while making agreeable-sounding noises before they are even spoken to, but, most significantly by the way in which, when asked their name they will immediately offer a Christian name rather than their real Eskimo names. In both Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet, one of the most significant indices of a sense of a class exclusiveness is the pattern of marriage arrangements which became normal. Marriage between the child of a well-established settlement Eskimo family and the child of a hunting-group family was rare indeed.

Secularisation of Hunting

It has already been pointed out that hunting was traditionally an activity in which a maximal degree of religiosity was invested. As hunting progessively became to some significant extent at least an adjunct of the fur trade, (a phenomenon for which the traditional religion made, of course, no provision), there has been a steady diminution in the religiosity attached to hunting. Traditionally the Eskimo felt a strong sense of respect for the most important animals upon which they depended for survival. Their collective souls were related with the soul-complex of the whole Eskimo cosmology, and the spiritual forces they represented were believed to be capable of dangerous disfavour if they were abused. The result was a natural or unarticulated conservation system. Wholesale slaughter far beyond the needs of the hunters, was most rare. The traditional belief system did not invest any great degree of respect in the fox, but the fur industry now required the hunters to take the animal very seriously. At the same time the trapper was expected to exploit the fox population to the maximum; from the traders' point of view, it was impossible to kill too many. Thus with hunting increasingly seen as an act sup-

portive of a secular activity, trapping and commerce, there was a subtle process of devaluation of hunting as an important acting-out of the belief system. There is no evidence that the religious practices and beliefs which were the current supports of the traditional hunting, were transferred to the activity of trapping. It was after all, conscientiously impossible to coin and create a supportive folklore and soul-system-cosmological significance for something introduced from outside of the culture and for something for which the profoundest traditions had little regard. Also important was the fact that highly-valued much desired and extremely useful objects, greatly improving survival chances, could be acquired by a process (trapping and trading) which could often be carried out without the support and restraints of the traditional religion. Here then, we see the commercial and material undermining of the traditional religion, and with it, inevitably, the undermining of the values and beliefs which gave coherence and meaning to the society. Quite persuasive to the many practical-minded young Eskimo, was the obvious fact that the most dramatically successful human beings (in material terms) that they knew of—the Whites—were people who enjoyed their material wealth and power without recourse to the belief system which to traditional Eskimo encompassed all physical and metaphysical reality.

At the same time, strongly associated with the fur traders were the missionaries who subjected the traditional beliefs to direct and passionate attack. As White-people, they were associated with the awesome power of vast knowledge, of which the White men's technical richness and apparently endless affluence was overwhelming demonstration. Reference has already been made to the great respect felt by Eskimo for the possession and use of knowledge. A brief look at the history of Mission activity in Keewatin is now indicated.

THE MISSIONS

In the 1950's and 1960's two or three American-supported evangelical groups, or their schisms—made brief sorties into Keewatin, without acquiring any adherents. Though they have spent periods as long as two or three years in such places as Maguse River, Eskimo Point, Padlei, Rankin Inlet, and even in Chesterfield Inlet, (the capital of Canadian Eskimo Catholicism), few have stayed very long, in comparison with the longer-established missionaries, and their impact has been remarkably negligible. (One fundamentalist has spent over a decade at whole Cove, however, but his influence has been supportive of Christianity generally, and has not decimated the old churches). The history of the Missions in Keewatin, therefore, is essentially that of the growth of the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches among the Eskimos. Though eighty-five percent of all Canadian Eskimos are affiliated with the Anglican Church, this distribution is not reflected in Rankin Inlet specifically, where the Anglican population has

rarely exceeded more than twenty percent of the total, and is currently about an eighth.

It is not unimportant to mention again the close association between the Missions and the traders. A glance at the date on which these interests were established in each settlement tells the beginning of the story of this relationship. In Chesterfield Inlet the Hudson's Bay Company established its Post in 1911. The Roman Catholic Mission established there in 1912. In Baker Lake the Hudson's Bay Company established its post in 1924. The Anglican Mission was opened in 1926, and the Catholic Mission in 1927. At Repulse Bay the Hudson's Bay Company post was established in 1921, and the Catholic Mission, the only Mission there, was built in 1932. At Eskimo Point the Hudson's Bay Company post was established in 1924, the Roman Catholic Mission was built in the same year, and the Anglican Mission established in 1926. On Southampton Island, the Hudson's Bay Company post was opened in 1925, a Catholic Mission built the following year, and though the Anglicans have not ever kept a permanent Mission there very long, (two years at most), they have periodically visited their adherents there (about half the population)—since the establishment of the trading post. A frequently-heard joke in the North, and in fact anywhere where the fur trade has had any history—is that H.B.C. stands not only for Hudson's Bay Company, but for "Here Before Christ", (but only just). In many settlements, the missionaries on arrival, stayed with the traders, and even used their buildings for services, until they had established their own quarters. This initial demonstration of close association was followed by a continued pattern of sharing of materials, information and attitudes. Like the traders, the missionaries came with sturdy, heated buildings, and at least one year's and often two year's supply of food, fuel and other basic necessities. Certainly, by southern standards, the missionaries often lived lives of spartan simplicity, and made maximal use of local game resources for food, but by Eskimo standards their material and technical wealth was almost as awesomely indicative of power as that of the traders and the earlier visitors who came to the Arctic in their large and complex vessels.

Though varying in degree of depth and consistency, it can be said that the traders shared the value system of the missionaries. Usually the productive or "middle class" type Eskimos who aroused the favour of the trader aroused similar approval in the minds of the missionaries, and vice versa, and Eskimos who aroused the disfavour of one, were most often also disapproved of by the other. As the patterns of economic dependency upon the trader became more pronounced, this matter of missionary approval became more significant.

The question of communication with the Eskimo, in reference to the missionaries, can be discussed on two levels—that of language itself, and that of the cultural preconditioning in the minds of the Eskimo, preparing them for understanding of the

metaphysical and moral messages which the missionaries were impelled to bring to the Eskimo. The missionaries came to Keewatin armed with a system of writing which had been developed first by a Methodist missionary among the Cree Indians, and a little later by an Anglican Missionary among the Ungava and Baffin Island Eskimo. This enabled them to communicate the Scriptures and prayer-format to the Eskimo with remarkable rapidity. The New Testament had already been transliterated from a Moravian translation into the syllabic system some three decades before their move into the central Arctic, and though the dialect in which it was written was different from that of the Keewatin people, it was by no means so completely strange as to be incomprehensible to them. The "syllabic system" is basically twelve very simple symbols—derived directly from Pitman's shortband—which are written in four (north, south, east, west) orientations, thus providing forty-eight very easily-learnt gliphs, each thought by the Anglicans to stand very roughly for one of the syllables of the Eskimo language spectrum of sound. In fact twelve of the "basic" gliphs are inappropriate to the Eskimo phonetic structure, and the people rarely use them. They also neglect some geniune terminals. However, even though a newly-arrived missionary did not understand the Eskimo language, he could, by quickly learning the syllabics, "read" the Scriptures, and conduct the traditional church services in the language. At the same time the missionaries made intense efforts to learn the language quickly, and though all, without exception, spoke it with strong British or European accents—most of the early missionaries acquired some degree of fluency.

An important ally for the Anglican missionaries was their willingness to distribute the Scriptures among the Eskimo, even among those who they saw infrequently, and were not therefore able to instruct, so that the Biblical learning, important to the missionary effort, went on during the long periods when the missionary was not in contact. Very strongly aiding this process of dissemination, was the openness of the Eskimo themselves, first of all for the interest and entertainment, and no less for the new intellectual stimulus which the process of reading, and reading the Scriptures—provided. Lacking anything else to read, the Eskimo read the missionary's material, particularly the New Testament, exhaustively. To this day, many of the Anglican Eskimo are remarkable for their enormous and detailed knowledge of the New Testament.

At a time when the fur trade was helping to weaken the traditional religious system, the missionaries were offering a belief system which (by no philosophical co-incidence at all) provided the rationale for the new commercial orientation of life. To a certain extent then, it may be said that the message of the missionaries was something which might partially fill the spiritual need created by the devaluation of the traditional religion in the process of secularisation of hunting, the society's basic activity. At the same time, there were sufficient affinities between the Christian message and the traditional religion,

that the Eskimo were not confronted with something so completely alien as to be totally incomprehensible and unacceptable. For example, both religions include the belief in one, great, life-giving, life-commanding, creative spirit. Both religions contain the concept of the soul, though the Eskimo soul system is much more complex, and in some ways, more sophisticated. Both religions emphasise the pervasive power of the creative spirit and the relative impotence of the human being. Yet both religions, (as indeed all religions)—also provide for the spiritual manipulation of the elemental powers through the use of prayer, ritual and restraints. Both religions make clear that the greatest spiritual strength in the individual is only possible through the exercise of great purity. As the Christian religion teaches forgiveness, so did the Eskimo belief system allow for propitiation and ingratiation.

At the same time, though the total impact of the missionaries and their message was sufficient that the Eskimo felt they must take it very seriously, particularly when considering its close association with the economic arbiters of their existence—the traders—the teachings of the missionaries created very serious ambivalences. The Eskimo religion contains no central single folk hero, and no concept of the inescapable sinfulness and venality of man, and therefore of his need to repent. Quite the most important aspect of the missionaries' message, particularly in-so-far as it created ambivalencies and strains—was the inculcation of a sense of guilt, the need to repent in order to be saved, the iminence of the Second Coming creating a sense of urgency at the same time. Though the missionaries use the same word for soul as the Eskimo do for name-soul, it seems that few ever fully understood the complexities of the Eskimo soul-system. Certainly the missionaries overtly and vigourously devalued the name-soul complex which is of such profound and vital importance to the Eskimo sense of society and of belonging in a cosmological system, as both Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries usually insist as a matter of policy on adressing Eskimo by the baptismal names which they decide upon when they baptize the Eskimo—(not the Eskimo)—and insist that the Eskimo themselves make use of these baptismal names. Though subjected to this devaluation, it is not insignificant, however, that in the mature adult generations—the Eskimos of all but the most entrenched settlement-servant, mission-follower families—still use their proper Eskimo names, and in some cases do not even remember the names which the missionaries attached to them at the time of baptism. However, almost all Eskimos under thirty who have traded into or lived around Chesterfield Inlet automatically offer to any white man enquiring, the French names with which they were baptized. Whether they fully realised this or not, the missionaries of both faiths struck at the very heart of the nonmaterial sources of Eskimo social integration, when they set about influencing the Eskimo naming system.

A notable difference between the Eskimo religion and the moral attitudes which

derive from it, and the teachings of the missionaries, was the notable lack of tolerance which characterizes the latter, in contrast with the considerable degree of understanding, flexibility and patience which was characteristic of traditional Eskimo moral attitudes.

It may be noted that the Eskimo traditionally valued straightforwardness and honesty, faithfulness in social relations and family commitments, and love. Nevertheless these qualities were urged upon the Eskimo by the missionaries, with moral and religious fervour, as if they had not existed among the Eskimo before the missionaries arrived. Though both the Eskimo and the missionaries believed equally in these values, the Eskimo required adherence to them as a practical means of survival in the socially interdependent group, though providing a spiritual rationale, while the missionaries valued them for essentially metaphysical reasons.

By far the greatest degree of moral pressure and highly-emotional hostility to traditional beliefs, folklore and practices, was evinced by the Anglican missionaries. The old folk-songs, the old folk-tales, drum dances, and even carving of traditional scenes, were very rigorously repressed, most particularly in Baker Lake. Such traditionalistic cultural phenomena were associated in the minds of the missionaries with paganism and equated therefore, by definition, with Sin. Though themselves inculcating a belief system hardly less evocative of ambivalencies, strains and fears, the Catholic missionaries have in every place, almost as a matter of policy, demonstrated a much larger degree of respect for Eskimo values, language, and folklore. In fact much of the folkloric recording now available from Keewatin has been done by the Catholic missionaries. It is also significant that the Catholic missionaries have without exception in Keewatin acquired a far greater degree of competence in the Eskimo language than any Anglican missionary who has been in this part of the Arctic.

It has been noted that in the traditional situation, lack of honesty was disfavoured, guilt was created usually by more exceptional circumstances, and very few individuals indeed ever evinced any sense of personal superiority; in fact the value system militated against it. Thus a paradoxical situation has emerged in that the moral pressures of the Missions have created among many Eskimo a tendency to evasiveness in confrontation with white people, a strong sense of guilt, particularly among the Anglicans, and an emergent sense of social superiority among those most closely associated with life around the Mission centres, particularly in the minds of those Protestants who considered themselves "saved".

Though most Eskimo in their basic social decisions do not take very seriously the very strong feeling of vital cleavage which the missionaries believe to exist between Protestant and Catholic, it must be noted that the many devoted Anglican Eskimo very openly articulate their belief in their spiritual and moral superiority over the Roman Catholics, and instances of bitterness in social relationships, though not frequent, have been known

to occur. More significant, perhaps, at this stage, however, is the fact that even among the most faithful adherents of the respective Churches, despite the most strong opposition of their respective missionaries, Eskimo still quite freely marry and adopt individuals affiliated with the "opposition" Church. Though, because of the strong emphasis on biblical teaching, the Anglican Eskimo are much better-informed theologically, it is among the Catholic Eskimo that one most frequently hears statements dismissing the significance of any difference between the two Churches, and asserting that "after all there is only one God". In term of church attendance, there is a tendency for Catholic wives of Protestant husbands to go to the Anglican Church, while Protestant wives of Catholic husbands, still, in most cases, continue to attend the Anglican Church. Both Roman Catholic and Anglican Eskimo attend their regular Church services in very large numbers, averaging from eighty to eighty-five per cent of the Church enrollment attending the major services of every Roman Catholic observance, while ninety-five to ninety-eight per cent of the Anglican Church enrollment attends every service, including mid-week prayer meetings. At Baker Lake, Vallee observed in 1959 that the Anglican Eskimo in the settlement spent an average of eleven hours per week in Church.[1]

The Anglicans have made extensive and very effective use of the Catechist system, whereby trained Lay Readers were sent out to conduct services and preach sermons in their own hunting camps. Most of the preaching done in the Anglican Church was by Eskimo Catechists. At Baker Lake, where the pioneer Anglican missionary remained in service there for twenty-five years, there was a well-established division of homiletic labour. During the morning service on a Sunday, the Eskimo Catechist, who had prepared his sermon under the instruction of the missionary the night before—usually preached on the theme of Hell, damnation, and the torture-wracked dangers of wavering from faith and moral rectitude, while in the evening the missionary preached on the themes of love and Christian joy.

Nowhere in Keewatin can it be said that shamanism has been entirely eliminated by missionary effort. *Angatqut* are still practicing, now with very great discretion, in every settlement in Keewatin, including Baker Lake, and though their traditionally-very-major influence is now seriously muted, they are still called upon in times of sickness, of fear, during shortage of game, during prolonged severe and dangerous weather, when major journeys are undertaken, and still not infrequently, in the matter of naming the children. The enormous variety of taboos and restraints are now greatly reduced, amulets are hardly ever used, and no more than one or two individuals in the whole of Keewatin now have even a partial knowledge of the traditional cosmology, the body

[1] Vallee, F. G. Personal communication. See also *Kabloona and Eskimo*. Ottawa 1962.

of folk-tales, the soul-system and the religious beliefs. Much of the behaviour and responses which are compatible with and derive from the traditional religion are now based on attitudes and unarticulated feelings of the "rightness" of certain types of behaviour and practices, without any clear knowledge of the belief system which provided the rationale. More common is it for people to say simply that a given practice, attitude, or form of behaviour is adopted because "one is an Eskimo", or "it is the way of The People".

It has been mentioned that there is strong rivalry between the missionaries of the major Churches, with the Eskimo often rather bemused and sometimes fearful objects of a bitter campaign to which they are not so passionately committed, in many cases, and to whom the refinements of dogma and rubric seem relatively unimportant. The missionaries see these matters differently. The frequently-used term among the missionaries themselves for their Christian brethren of the other denomination is "The Opposition". There have been scenes such as that in recent years at Eskimo Point when the two White missionaries quarelled violently and vociferously over the body of a woman, (each denomination has its own separate grave-yard), and still remembered by some is the incident of the late 1920's, also at Eskimo Point, when the young, newly-arrived Anglican Missionary (later the Bishop) discovered around the neck of a man whom he believed to be one of his adherents, a Catholic medallion, which he snatched off the man's neck, (cutting it), and, incoherent with temper, carried the medallion out to the ground in front of the Catholic Mission where he flung it down and jumped repeatedly upon it. Nevertheless it should be also recognized that there was an unwritten type of "gentlemen's" agreement between the missionaries, whereby the missionary who made the first contact with any given Eskimo group, and *collected their names* first, was considered to have staked out those people as his ecclesiastical territory.

It is not unusual for representatives of both Missions to establish themselves in one settlement, as for example in Eskimo Point, Whale Cove, Baker Lake, Rankin Inlet, and, more recently, Southampton Island. At the same time, Baker Lake is considered to be basically Anglican territory, while Chesterfield Inlet principally, and also Repulse Bay, are Catholic strongholds. Usually, then, a form of watchful truce exists between the two sets of missionaries, aided by the fact that the Eskimo themselves, with their desire to avoid trouble, very rarely cross the unseen lines of demarcation. It is significant that we note the relative ease with which the Eskimo conclude marriages and adoptions between members of the opposing denominations quite often without considering the ecclesiastical involvement. It would seem that though marriage and adoption were matters in which the traditional religion was profoundly involved, in the minds of the contemporary Eskimo, the beliefs of Christian denominations are less importantly concerned. In the contemporary situation, it would seem that for many of the Eskimo, Christian

practice is a matter of church-going, religious reading, and often quite genuine private prayer, but marriage and adoption is now a more secular field of social relationship, involving practical considerations, family committments and personal emotion but not, as traditionally, matters of metaphysical involvement. It is usually however, Eskimo movements across the lines of affiliation, perhaps without full consideration of repercussions, which spark the outbreaks of missionary hostility. In recent decades instances of active proselyting are relatively rare. In 1962 a "Catholic" family moved into the Anglican Church at Rankin Inlet, and though this was considered by the Anglican Church as something of a victory, the head of the family explained disarmingly that they were merely moving back to the Church to which they had first been converted. They had started going to the Catholic church at Eskimo Point during the long period in which the Anglican Mission was unstaffed. This family was a materialistically opportunistic group, and it would seem that such oscillations between the two Churches are not entirely unmotivated by practical considerations. People who do alternate are often people who do not demonstrate any deep sense of committment to the Christian religion, and in fact in the case of the instance just cited, the head of the family was known to the researcher, but to very few of the White people—as a practicing *angatqut*, until his death.

Revitalisation

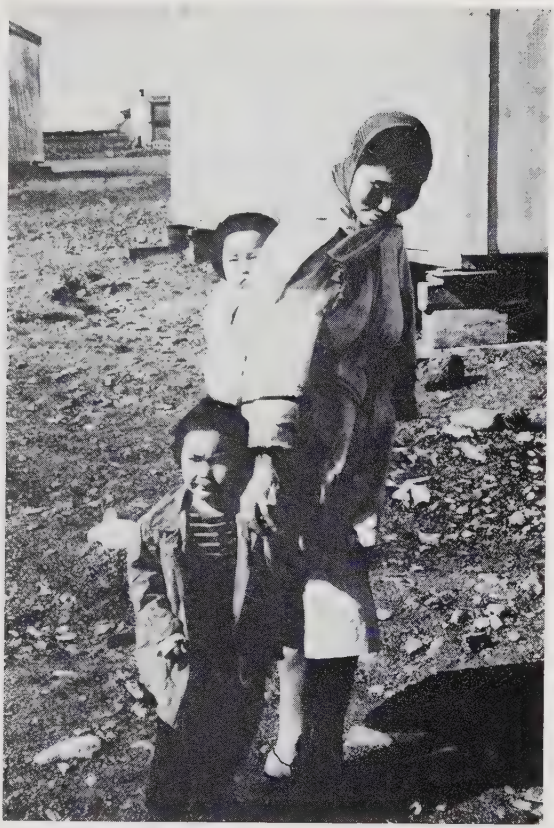
One very significant exception to the foregoing general statement about the apparent lack of depth of feeling of those who cross denominational lines—is the leader of the recently-emergent Eskimo Christian Fellowship, now headquartered in his home settlement of Baker Lake. He appears in Keewatin as a man of messianic sincerity and purity. He is also an almost archetypal figure in the history of revitalisation movements. No review of acculturation and religion should ignore such developments. Not infrequently in culture-change and disintegration situations, some culturally impoverished and socially marginal people may go through a process of self-regeneration, reconfirming a previously uncertain indigenous identity and discovering security, sublimity and a sense of special selection, both socially and spiritually—through a dynamic combination of evangelistic Christianity and ethnic group exclusiveness. Usually involved is the formation of a cell or a series of cells around an inspirational leader. Inter-action is characterised by fundamentalistic Bible-interpretation, free-form and fervent praying, public confession of sins and tearful repentance, swinging music and rhythmic working-up of feelings to the point of joyful transport, all within the context of group membership accessible only to people of the indigenous culture. Cultural revival as well as religious revival is selective and adapted to contemporary needs, though attempts at traditionalistic life-modes are not infrequent, and usually the use of the indigenous

language is important. Adherents tend to be drawn from those elements of the population whose cultural ambivalences have led them into a life-pattern of oscillation between the values and living styles of the dominating culture which has lured them, partially educated them but not fully accepted them—and the practices of the alienated indigenous culture which they often only incompletely and imperfectly know but are irrevocably identified with and in various emotional ways need. From the midst of such people must emerge the vital element which sparks, leads and inspires them, brings them together, and succeeds in creating a development which either grows, varying in form from a full-blown grass-fire messianic movement, to an ultimately-stable though somewhat limited sect—or loses its momentum, (and in some cases is repressed)—leaving the followers either to further immediate disintegration or to new searches for an identity-grail, which may be simply a slower form of the disintegration process.

In Keewatin, the Eskimo Christian Fellowship substantially fits this definition, now apparently at the stable-sect stage, though still certainly with a very real potential for a much more widespread affect on the Eskimo population of Canada. The leader has the inspirational qualities necessary for wider impact, but typically rejects the (non-Eskimo) organisational motivation needed for that, and, typically again, holds tenaciously to the satisfactions of family and home ground. However, with the assistance of modern communications methods, and the mobility of some of his followers, it may be possible for him to reach out without much travelling himself, and indeed, needful people may come increasingly to him.

A very brief history of this leader is indicated here. Biologically fathered by a White trader, (and painfully conscious of this), and baptised into the Catholic church, this man is physically in no way identifiable as an Eskimo, but has always with quiet but stubborn strength asserted his Eskimo identity. His command of and expertise in the use of Eskimo language is outstanding. His functional Eskimo father and his mother brought him up in a settlement-Eskimo situation. He became an Anglican, and his great spiritual devotion, plus a dogged persistance in acquiring some English education—enabled him ultimately to seek ordination in that church, which in the late 1950's displayed him very proudly as the first Eskimo to be ordained priest. However, as the Anglican denomination in the Arctic was governed very autocratically from the remote office of its Bishop, who lived in Toronto for logistic reasons valid in earlier years, the first Eskimo priest found the organisational constraints increasingly unreasonable, and ultimately left the Anglican Church for good in 1969. Throughout his ministry in that organisation, he had found it hard to relate with the Whites, and stayed away from involvement in settlement meetings and non-Church public bodies. Unlike his White brethren in the Arctic Anglican clergy, and despite his evangelistic leaning, this man showed tolerance toward the Catholic Church, and indeed led his congregation to a Requiem Mass in the

Contemporary, (i.e. mixed) living styles in Rankin Inlet.



The area known as "the Eskimo village"—looking north, August, 1965. Styles of housing vary from the larger "Mine houses", to the government-provided smaller types. Rt., the style known as "shoe-boxes" to the Whites. The Eskimo call them *iluvirq*—"coffin".

The Keewatin countryside in April, 1965, surrounds hunting camp snow-houses near Rankin Inlet. Rt. front, drying caribou skins.

One of the earliest government-designed and built Eskimo dwellings was called "The Rigid Frame". These and others in Rankin were later used as huts for pigs and chickens in a short-lived government livestock-raising project.

Some of the smaller "Staff dwellings" in the agency area. The above-surface utilidor line, later modernized the government, provided staff with steam, hot water and modern sewage disposal. The "Eskimo village", was not so served.

Rankin Inlet Catholic Church in memorial of the death of Pope John XII—out of appreciation of "a great Christian leader", and again later participated in a combined Christmas service with the Catholic priest and congregation. On both accasions he was bitterly chastised by his Bishop.

The leader of the recent Eskimo Christian Fellowship is a very gentle and quietly-spoken man, and though usually incorrigbly cheerful and optimistic, is given to profound feelings and is a powerfully inspirational orator. He began his present phase of endeavour in Eskimo Point, where he was based when he left the Anglican Church. Later he moved to Baker Lake. Despite official predictions of failure, he has drawn enough support to be able to build a large, iglu-shaped church in Baker Lake and more than half the people there attend his activities. Earlier he tried to lead a back-to-the-land movement, in an attempt to have established a new community away from Baker Lake, but now continues to base himself in the main settlement. No-one has been known by this writer to ever question the sincerity of this leader. An essential point is, nevertheless, follow-up is necessary, in documentary terms.

This encapsulation the current Keewatin movement and its leader is considered relevant in approaching understanding of the totality of the acculturation processes in Keewatin, and to draw attention to the development of what appears to be a revitalisation movement of some interest not only as a case-history but for further analytical and theoretical purposes.

In summary, it should be seen, from the brief observations made here, that the acculturative influence of the missionaries has, in a relatively very short period, been very profound and of major significance in explication of the contemporary situation.

Illness

It is hard to place sufficient stress on the significance of illness in the recent decades in Keewatin, (as indeed in the rest of the Arctic)—as a major influence in the contemporary acculturation situation. There is some reason to believe that traditionally, viral or contagious infection was very rare among the Eskimo. (Even in recent times, the researcher can remember living on Baffin Island among Eskimo who went for almost a year without so much as a cold until some mail was dropped by parachute by a passing R.C.A.F. aircraft, and within twenty-four hours almost the whole group were suffering from upper respiratory infection). Having spent so much of their traditional history out of touch with infective diseases, (the very fact of Eskimo survival, despite their extremely intimate way of life in very difficult conditions, persuades us that infective disease was traditionally very rare)—the Eskimo demonstrate very low resistance to infections brought in from other parts of the world. The Keewatin area has been, within living

memory, the scene of three very widespread and alarming infections. Though contact between the indigenous population of Southampton Island, the Sadlirmiut—and the Aivilimiut seems to have been relatively rare, a few Aivilimiut did live among the Sadlirmiut around the turn of the century. It was those old Aivilimiut who brought to the mainland much of the limited knowledge we have, other than archeological evidence, of a group that is now completely extinct. Captain George Comer was in contact with these people from 1898 until 1902, and his records, though fragmentary, are of rare value. The whole group died out as a result, it is believed, of smallpox, in 1903. (The present Southampton Island population is made up entirely of migrants from the adjacent Keewatin, south Baffin Island, and north-west Quebec coasts). Knowledge of this disaster is widespread among the Keewatin Eskimo. In more recent time, the whole of Keewatin was terrorised and decimated by an extremely widespread and virulent epidemic of poliomyelitis in 1949. In Chesterfield Inlet alone, where there was a hospital with a doctor and a staff of trained Nun-nurses—out of some 300 people in the area, at least fifty per-cent had been infected, five per cent died, and close to fourteen per-cent were left paralyzed for life. The statistics of disaster were even higher in more remote places. The disease was brought into the country by a carrier, an Eskimo who had been visiting the Military base in Churchill, and subsequently travelled extensively through the Keewatin. Such was the impact of the disease on the minds of the Keewatin people that even after many months after the end of the epidemic, remoter Eskimo groups respected the quarantine regulations which a doctor had instituted, to the extent that in many cases they ran away from or would not approach visiting white people. In Rankin Inlet there are seven adult individuals still affected physically in varying degrees by the paralysis left by the 1949 poliomylitis. Most of these people spent periods of one, two or three years in the south following evacuation to hospitals during the epidemic.

A less dramatic, but even more widespread and deadly disease has profoundly affected a very large proportion of the Eskimo population of Keewatin—that is pulmonary tuberculosis. By 1964, over seventy per cent of the total Keewatin population had spent some time in southern sanitoria for periods varying from three months to nine years, being tested or treated for pulmonary tuberculosis. Of this very large percentage, a substantial number have been subjected to lung surgery. Until the inception of regular X-Ray surveys carried out by a mobile medical unit flying through the country once a year—a system initiated in 1959—one of the great problems was the early discovery of this insidious disease. Quite frequently, the disease was well advanced in individuals when it was first discovered, and treatment was therefore made more problematical and protracted, and prognosis often poor. Though there has been a Mission hospital at Chesterfield Inlet since 1930, even the most primitive medical services have been absent in the rest of Keewatin until the recent past.

A Nursing Station was built at Baker Lake in 1955–56 and first staffed late in that year. Only in 1962 was a Nursing Station built at Eskimo Point, and another new Nursing Station was opened at Coral Harbour in 1963. Now, all settlements in Keewatin are so served, but the facilities at Repulse Bay and Whale Cove were not opened until the early 1970's. These Nursing Stations are designed usually for two nurses, though it has been common for them to be staffed for long periods by only one nurse. Treatment provided is essentially of a limited kind, with medical problems of any seriousness being flown out to the south once the nurse has received permission from the southern headquarters.

Until the recent X-Ray surveys began to discover tuberculosis in the early stages, it was the accepted belief of the Eskimo people over several decades that evacuation to the south for tuberculosis involved many years of separation from the family, and not infrequently, the prospect of death in the south. It has already been pointed out that traditional medicine among the Eskimo was limited to non-herbal shamanistic efforts, and that traditional knowledge about illness was very limited. Certainly there was no notion whatsoever of the process of cross-infection, and in the traditional situation, where people moved frequently, discarded clothing when it became dirty, and lived virtually free from infection for long periods—there was no requirement for the hygienic practices which the contemporary situation now requires. Many Eskimo lived for years with their families before their disease became fully known to them, and even then, some, particularly older ones—would avoid being taken away by the White people for treatment. The fear of being flown away from the Eskimo territory, (so often, in the earlier years, never to return), was strengthened by a tragedy during the poliomyelitis epidemic, when a large aircraft, (an amphibious Canso) crashed on its way from Chesterfield Inlet to Winnipeg, killing all twenty people aboard. Eight of the passengers were sick Eskimo from Chesterfield Inlet. Later, a man who subsequently became a leading figure in Rankin Inlet, (and indeed had widespread influence) was flying home to the family, at that time still at Chesterfield Inlet, after having spent five years in a sanatorium. With him was his daughter who had also been in sanitorium. Forty miles from Chesterfield Inlet the aeroplane crashed, and both father and daughter had to be immediately evacuated, as a result of their injuries, for another two years in a southern hospital.

In total we have been able to observe in Keewatin, a population very seriously affected both physically and emotionally by illness. In terms of acculturation too, the results of the long periods spent so many of the Keewatin people in hospitals in the south are profoundly felt. Though a large majority of the men who returned from sanatorium—went back to hunting and trapping—few were completely physically or mentally able to sustain the normal hardships which are part of that way of life. The incidence of reactivations has been very high, about sixty percent of those who have been treated once

for tuberculosis being sent out again for repeated treatment. About fifteen percent of those treated for tuberculosis have gone through as many as three separate periods in the south in sanatorium. Tuberculosis breaks out most readily in the bodies of individuals who are debilitated, under-nourished, and have undergone protracted periods of exposure and cold. These conditions have been normal to the every-day way of life of the Eskimo. Moreover their close living conditions permited more readily than among most people the easy spread of infection, and where there has been historically no opportunity over the centuries for the Eskimo to build up resistance to this disease, it may be well understood, in total, how this disastrous situation developed among the Keewatin Eskimo. The potential for the Keewatin Eskimo to exploit their local environment, was, of course, seriously damaged by disease. Though most relatives always did their best for a family unit damaged by the absence of the hunter or the wife, the family as an economic unit was seriously crippled in these illness situations. The result has often been poorer nutrition for the whole family, and with tuberculosis already present in the family, its inevitable spread to others. The absence of children in the south has also had serious effects, in the estrangement of children from their parents, and from the way of life of the family. Small children under five who were in the south for more than a year—most often came back speaking only English and sometimes unable to eat the unaccustomed food in the family home. In many cases adjustments for both the children and the parents have been difficult, prolonged, and painful.

Thus has illness not only contributed very substantially to the contemporary malaise and sense of insecurity of the Eskimo of Keewatin, motivating them to move away from the hunting camps into the settlements, but the situation has contributed to the incidence among the younger generation of a number of emotionally-disturbed and disoriented children and young adults whose value system has been seriously disoriented. Quite the most important aspect of the illness situation in the Keewatin district has been its major contribution toward present acculturation trends. Very few women who have spent any time in the south were willing to return to life in the hunting camps. The traditional attitude of resignation, the value of acceptance as it was brought to bear upon illness, has changed as women insist on living near medical help, and on southern standard clothing and a more certain supply of food for their families. The observations of the researcher elicit the indication that the women who have been in sanatoria in the south are more profoundly affected in terms of their anticipations of living standards—than are most of the men. Their life-pattern aspirations are not only changed by what they themselves observe of the white's man's life in the south, but also by the apparent values and norms accepted by the mass media to which they are exposed while in the south. Many Eskimo in sanatoria spend large parts of every day for many months watching the television. What they see there tends only to confirm what they had been led to believe by the

regular movie shows which have been, in most Arctic settlements, a highly-favoured source of "information" and recreation for the Eskimo population for well over a decade. Of several hundred Eskimo adults interviewed, the observer had recorded, by 1965, only two instances of knowledge of the fact that there are poor white people. All of the Whites and all of the homes in which they live in the Arctic, give evidence of sumptuousness of living. Most of the movies which are chosen as desirable for exhibition in the Arctic—usually of a second-class nature—act only to confirm this impression. The experience of most Eskimos in the south was usually limited to their journeys to and from the sanatoria, which not infrequently included passing through large cities with enormous buildings filled with technical devices and surrounded by luxury vehicles, such that, having "seen with their own eyes", the Eskimo are further convinced of the enormous richness, power and knowledge of the White-people.

Many observers have commented on the readiness of Eskimo to adjust to practices which they believe will improve their chances of survival or enrich their standard of living. Certainly the economic difficulties of Keewatin, added to the physical and mental changes effected by illness in the Eskimo's life expectations, plus the fear of illness, and the manifold evidence of the practical advantages to be gained from emulating the Whites—all combine to strongly motivate Eskimo adaptability insofar as their material culture is concerned.

CHAPTER VI

Listing of Recent Southern Influences in the Keewatin Settlements

Before turning our attention, in the next section, essentially to Rankin Inlet itself, it may be useful at this point to quickly summarize the sources of acculturative influence which have sprung up in the Keewatin areas from which the Rankin population has been drawn. In that the Rankin Inlet settlement as such had not been in existence, during the study period covered in this report, for much more than a decade, it is not unimportant to have in mind a quick sketch of the pre-formulative settlements, with some emphasis now on the agencies established and their economic rôle.

Chesterfield Inlet

(Report period population, approximately 90.)

For our purposes in this section, it is appropriate to consider the establishment of the R.C.M.P. Detachment at Cape Fullerton eighty miles to the north—as part of Chesterfield Inlet's recent history. The R.C.M.P. controlled the Chesterfield area from Cape Fullerton from 1903 until the detachment was re-established at Chesterfield Inlet in 1921. The Hudson's Bay Company trading Post was opened at Chesterfield Inlet in 1911 and the Roman Catholic Mission established there in 1912. Under Church auspices, a twenty-bed hospital was opened in 1930. In 1951, again under Church auspices, a full-time school was opened, though the Mission had been providing some form of education in the settlement for some time before that. Almost since the beginning of the Mission, education, with a strong religious influence, had been made available to Eskimo settlement residents and to those stopping over temporarily. In 1954 the Mission opened a large school hostel to which children from all over the Central Arctic were flown.

A regular employer of one or two Eskimo men at Chesterfield Inlet has been an organization with a completely secular interest, the Department of Transport. Until more recent years the weather-reporting and radio station was staffed by single men, but now there are married quarters for most of the employees. A very dramatic flurry of construction activity occurred at Chesterfield Inlet in the spring and summer of 1955 when the DEW Line was for a very short period extended down the west Hudson's Bay coast. Though no Eskimo were employed, and everything connected with

the operation ceased at this location within a few months of its beginning, the Eskimo heard for the first time, about the large-scale type of work that can be undertaken in the Arctic, and moreover, most importantly, were impressed by the enormous wage rates which they were told were being paid in the modern era for construction work. In 1955, and in fact until the later 1950's, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Missions, and many other employers of Eskimo labour, seemed to be agreed that about five dollars a day was appropriate pay for the employment of Eskimo labour. The building of the Hudson's Bay Company, the hospital, the Department of Transport buildings, the school, and the hostel, and later other Government dwellings- in Chesterfield Inlet, created over the years, a fairly frequent demand for more skilled Eskimo labour. In the process, over a dozen Chesterfield Inlet men who later came to Rankin Inlet acquired considerable skill as carpenters.

Again, the Catholic Mission has always been and remains to this day, the major influence in Chesterfield Inlet.

Baker Lake

(Report period population, including camps, approximately 500.)

The Hudson's Bay Company established its first Post at Baker Lake in 1924. The Anglican Mission was built in 1926, and the Catholic Mission in 1927. Baker Lane became an important point in the progress of the military exercise "Operation Muskox" in 1945. In 1946 the Department of Transport established a meteorological station, and in 1948 Upper Atmosphere and other more complex types of observation facilities were installed, along with increased radio facilities. An airstrip was built, and married quarters for family men were progressively added to what is now a very large D.O.T. establishment in Baker Lake. During the 1960's the White-man complement of employees in Baker Lake working for the Department of Transport averaged about fifteen. The R.C.M.P. have had a detachment in Baker Lake since 1929. This was usually made up of two single men. Since the middle 'fifties, when married quarters were built, there has usually been one married N.C.O. and one single Constable. In 1963 a Sub-Division was established there, increasing the R.C.M.P. complement by an Inspector, a Sergeant, and another Constable. The Sub-Division was moved to Churchill in 1964. In 1956 the Department of Northern Affairs established a Northern Service Officer at Baker Lake and in the same year, 1956, the Nursing Station was opened. In 1957 a small two-room school was opened by the Department of Northern Affairs. Previous to this the Anglican Mission had engaged in some teaching among the Settlement children, though the emphasis had been entirely religious. The children learned to write in Eskimo syllabics, they learned Biblical matters, and they learned to sing hymns in English, although they did not always understand what they were singing. By 1960, the Baker Lake school had

increased to four rooms, and has gone on growing steadily, and by 1961 the Department of Northern Affairs had two Administrators and a "Projects" Officer-in charge of game exploitation—based at Baker Lake. In 1963 a contract employee was sent to Baker Lake by the Department of Northern Affairs to encourage the production of handicrafts.

From early in the fur-trade era until early in the "new government era", almost thirty years, one Scottish trader and one English missionary effectively ruled the area, with the mission influence most penetrating.

Repulse Bay

(Report period population, approximately 180.)

The Hudson's Bay Company Post has been operating at Repulse Bay since 1921. The Roman Catholic Mission has been staffed by at least one priest, and quite often two—since 1932. About thirty Eskimo from the Repulse Bay area were employed as labourers for a very short period in September 1955, during the short-lived flurry of DEW Line activity at that location. Though of no great duration, the impact on the settlement in terms of expectations of income for work done was quite significant. In contrast to the traditional five dollars a day, Eskimo learned that it was possible to earn anything from eighty-eight cents an hour to a dollar fifty an hour for labouring, and up to a thousand dollars a month for skilled operating of heavy equipment.

Eskimo Point

(Report period population, including camps, approximately 460.)

The Hudson's Bay Company established its post at Eskimo Point at a location on the coast where harbourage is difficult to find, (and this, though by no means ideal, was better than most), in 1924. The Roman Catholic Mission established at Eskimo Point at the same time, and the Anglican Mission was built two years later. An R.C.M.P. Detachment was established at Eskimo Point in 1933, a significant influence, in that the people trading into that post, basically Padlirmiut, have always been particularly fearful of the R.C.M.P. Eskimo Point was also the scene of a short burst of DEW-Line activity in the autumn of 1955 and again Eskimo expectations of wages were significantly changed. From 1957 onwards Eskimo Point was a base for mining exploration for five consecutive summers. From this, a total of about half a dozen Eskimo men received occasional employment as camp labourers, though rarely for more than a few days or weeks at a time. The Department of Northern Affairs built a school at Eskimo Point in 1958, staffed it with two teachers in 1959 and added a third teaching position to that complement in 1962. An Area Administrator was first posted there in 1960. A one-nurse four-bed Nursing Station was built at Eskimo Point in 1962.

Coral Harbour

(Report period population, approximately 220.)

Coral Harbour, the name of the Southampton Island settlement, was established as a Hudson's Bay Company trading Post in 1925. It's modern population was recruited by the Company from among the better trappers and hunters in several locations on Baffin Island, northern Ungava, and mainland Keewatin. The Roman Catholic Church has staffed a Mission there since the Autumn of 1926, and in 1930 the Anglican Church built a small chapel which an ordained missionary visited for a few weeks every few years. Southampton Island became the site of a major military establishment during the war. The R.C.A.F. built an airport some fifteen miles away from the Coral Harbour settlement in 1941. The Base was intended to serve as a staging point for aircraft passing by the "great circle" route to and from the European theatres of war, and at one stage plans included a large hospital as an intermediate receiving-point for wounded being flown back to Canada. The hospital plan did not fully materialize, but the Base was maintained by the R.C.A.F. until it was taken over by the Department of Transport in 1945.

Small detachments of Air Force personnel continued to return to the Coral Harbour Base, for short training periods in the summer, until 1952. The R.C.M.P. maintained one officer there at the Base from 1946 to 1947. Thereafter, as before, Southampton Island was "patrolled" by annual visits in the summer time by the R.C.M.P. boat from Chesterfield Inlet. A small one-room school was built in 1950 by the Government and staffed in a sporadic fashion until 1955. Since then the school has been open every winter and has grown steadily in size. By 1964 it had 3 teachers, and now has six. For almost a year, from the summer of 1955 until the spring of 1956, Coral Harbour served as a supply base for the Dew Line. As many as two hundred White-men were working there or in transit through that place at any given time during that period. Since the early 'forties, then, the Eskimo of Coral Harbour have been exposed to wage-earning opportunities and to observation of Whites whose interest was not essentially in some way concerned with the Eskimo. Though Southampton Island is extremely rich in game, the population of Coral Harbour became a favourite recruiting area for Dew Line employers. The Coral Harbour men acquired a reputation along the Dew Line as men of notable adaptability, intelligence, indistriousness and reliability. They also acquired a reputation for their independence of spirit. In point of fact the writer has interviewed eighteen of the Coral Harbour Dew Line employees, both on the Dew Line at various sites, and at Coral Harbour, and more than half said that they liked the wage-employment but knew that if it ceased they could always go home and live well on Southampton Island. In recent years the Coral Harbour population has enjoyed

a standard of living and a standard of health far exceeding anything on the mainland. It has been relatively isolated however, and as a result of pressure, mainly from the Hudson's Bay Company, who provided medical services before, and from the Department of Northern Affairs, a two-nurse Nursing Station was established in 1963.

Ennadai Lake

It is commonly stated that the Ahiamiut of the deep inland—had until recently been hardly touched by contact with the White people. Certainly it is true that until they were moved out to the coast in 1958 they lived in the most technologically simple fashion of any of the Keewatin Eskimo, were the least sophisticated, and had undergone the most extreme privation. Starvation had reduced their total group population from about one hundred and twenty in 1950 to about sixty in 1959. They had however made occasional trading contacts with the fur-trade Post at Brochet in Northern Manitoba, with the free trader at Windy River near Nueltin Lake, during the 'forties and with the Hudson's Bay Company Post at Padlei, which closed in 1960. During all of this time, however, they had been in contact occasionally as short-term labourers but more and more frequently as seekers for food and clothing from the personnel operating the Weather Station at Ennadai Lake. This was opened and staffed by the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals during the war and taken over by the Department of Transport after the war. D.O.T. are still there. The relationship of the Ahiamiut with the Ennadai Lake radio station seems to have varied according to the opinions and personality of the staff there. For the most part however, their very deprived condition seems to have aroused a mixture of disgust and pity in the minds of the White-men at the Radio Station, and though there were times when the Ahiamiut were turned away empty-handed, it seems that much more frequently the personnel made food gifts to the Eskimo, as well as giving them discarded clothing. Though most of the Ahiamiut lived in small camps over a large area of the south Keewatin Plain, they tended to gravitate towards the Ennadai Lake Post in times of hardship, until the whole group was moved, by Government initiative and with Government assistance to the Henik Lakes area, where they starved to death in such numbers that ultimately the survivors were taken out to the coast.

The Abandoned Posts

Passing references had been made, (and little more than that is now required), to a number of Hudson's Bay trading Posts in Keewatin which are now closed. Their influence upon the culture of the Eskimo was of the type which has been described in some detail under the discussion of the fur trade. The people who traded into those posts

simply moved away, when they were closed, (usually because there were not enough people, or the fur resources were not great enough)—and they traded into one of the other posts in the region. For example, the people who traded into the Wager Bay post, which was opened in 1936 and closed in 1942, traded thereafter either with the Repulse Bay post or moved south and camped in the Daly Bay area, trading into Chesterfield Inlet. Nunalla was opened in 1929 and closed in 1936—the people who had traded there went to Eskimo Point. People who traded into the Tavani post from the time of its opening in 1929 to the time when it was closed in 1947 went down to Eskimo Point, and in a few instances up to Chesterfield Inlet to trade. Padlei post, which was opened in 1927 and thereafter was closed and reopened a number of times, was finally closed last in 1961. Except for those people who have now settled at Whale Cove or Rankin Inlet, the bulk of the population which traded into Padlei now live and trade into Eskimo Point. Whale Cove, like Rankin Inlet, is a recently-created community, drawing its population mainly from inland groups, and it has a history which may be considered in association with Rankin Inlet, but not as of having had a sufficiently long history as to be of profound influence on the people who make up the population of Rankin Inlet. In fact, rather the reverse is the case.

Rankin Inlet

Permanent settlement at the modern location of the Rankin Inlet community had existed for less than a decade, by the time of period covered in this study. For generations previous to the mid-'fifties, a few families, rarely more than about five, passed some of their time in the Rankin Inlet fjord area. Some wintered and others stayed only for short seasonal periods in the Spring and the Autumn, when fishing from the two small rivers which flow into Rankin Inlet—was fairly good. A White trapper known as "Foxy" Brown had a permanent wooden dwelling on the south shore of Rankin Inlet, near the end of the Pangnirtut Peninsular, for four of five years between the wars. The game in the Rankin Inlet area was never so rich as to encourage large numbers of people to stay for protracted periods. Though a few seals and whales do stray into the Inlet in the summertime, by far the bulk of the sea mammals pass along the coast across the mouth of the Inlet rather than skirting round its long shoreline.

Though mineral development at Rankin Inlet is of only the most recent history, and short-lived at that, knowledge of the mineral potential there has existed for some time. As long ago as 1736, the Hudson's Bay Company sent a Captain James Napper from Fort Prince of Wales to follow up Eskimo-source rumours of mineral wealth in this area, but the vessel was turned back by difficult sailing conditions, and the Master of the vessel died during the voyage back south to the Churchill River. The certain presence of

a substantial nickel ore resource was established by surface geologising and then by diamond drilling in 1928, but other than a little more drilling in 1930 and again in 1936, the discovery prompted very little serious activity.

During the Korean war, the price of nickel on the world market rose so substantially that the exploitation of the Rankin Inlet nickel resource, though so far from the southern consumption centres—became an economically feasible prospect. With the added factor that the Rankin Inlet nickel was of exceptionally high grade, the enormous transportation coasts were no longer a negative factor. Rankin Inlet Nickel Mines Limited was formed in the early 'fifties, and following extensive exploration, with magnetometer and electro-magnetic surveys augmenting the drilling programme in the summers of 1952 and 1953, development was decided upon and shaft-sinking was begun in the summer of 1953. Relatively speaking, Rankin Inlet Nickel Mine was, at its most extensive, a rather small operation. Stopes were extended from the shaft at two levels (the three hundred foot level and the two hundred foot level) and in the last eighteen months of the life of the mine, pillar withdrawal and open-pit exploitation rounded off an operation that was never expected, because of the high-grading approach adopted—to last for more than five or six years at the most. The mid-fifties period in the mine's history were characterized by very serious technical and financial difficulties, and it was not until the summer of 1957 that the first shipload of ore concentrate left the mine site. The Company had by then been known, since 1954, as North Rankin Nickel Mines, Limited, and after other previous financings—had come under the ownership of the Mogul Mining Corporation in 1954.

During the development period, the mining company had encountered endless difficulties in overcoming an enormous and complex variety of technical problems, mainly associated with the fact that this was the first mine to be put into operation in the Canadian Arctic. A succession of mining experts had been defeated by these problems, and the turning-point in the history of the Mine was the arrival of a consultant by the name of J. Andrew Easton. Though he had worked in mines in his youth, Easton was not considered to be essentially a mining man, having spent many years in various types of construction, notably as a contractor, building railways, roads, and docks in mountainous and hinterland country. Easton was brought to North Rankin Nickel Mine, first as a consultant for a few weeks. He stayed longer than he had planned, extending his time from a few weeks to three months, and then he was retained as Mine Manager in charge of the whole operation. Although a great deal of work had been undertaken in the development phases of the Mine from 1953 onwards, no Eskimo had been employed until after the arrival of Easton. It was he who, against the doubts and opposition of other Mine executives on the site and in Toronto—very strenuously pressed for the employment of Eskimo. Many of the difficulties which had been encountered previous

to Easton's arrival were associated with cold temperatures, isolation, and with a very rapid and expensive turnover of often third-rate White employees brought in at considerable expense from the south. A half dozen men from the local Rankin Inlet–Chesterfield Inlet area were engaged as labourers in April of 1956, and by mid-winter the Eskimo payroll had increased to over twenty. By the following summer (1957) the Mine was employing from sixty-five to seventy-five men, and by that winter, over eighty individuals were steadily on the job with the Mine. A number of other Eskimo men were periodically employed as labourers, or for their special skills in boat-handling or conducting exploration parties, so that totally as many as a hundred men were receiving some form of income from the Nickel Mine. Taking into account the dependents of these men, this development then, directly affected some four hundred Eskimo people. There was always some movement into and out of the community by small family groups, as some returned to the places from which they came after a year or two of residence, (and in a few cases after only a few months), as birth-rates rose rapidly, and as new groups moved in from other settlements. Thus, while the population was never sufficiently static for a firm figure to be quoted for any more than relatively short periods, it can be stated that by the autumn of 1962 the Eskimo population of Rankin Inlet was slightly over five hundred.

Population Distribution

Throughout the life of the Mine the distribution of the population by place of origin, could, in round terms, be rendered by the following rough approximation:

Migrants from Chesterfield Inlet	65 per cent
Eskimo Point	25 per cent
Repulse Bay	7 per cent
Baker Lake	3 per cent

During its life the Rankin Inlet Eskimo population has also included individuals and small family groups from such other points as Fort Chimo, (P.Q.) Igloolik, Perry River, and Povungnituk, (P.Q.).

Government Population–Relocation Projects.

In that there has been considerable involvement, in the Rankin Inlet community, of people who were originally brought to the coast as part of Government relocation projects, and to round off the description of the population movements in the Rankin Inlet

area, it is necessary to briefly refer to the two Government-organized population relocation projects.

Throughout the mid-'fifties and the latter half of the 'fifties, the groups deepest inland suffered seriously from hunger as a result of absence of caribou, upon which they had mainly depended for existence. Disease, predation and probably new migration routes very far from the normal tracks followed by the caribou, resulted in the desperate situation whereby the populations in the south Keewatin Plain and in north central Keewatin, were seriously decimated by starvation. By the spring of 1958, all of the survivors of the inland groups from the Henik Lakes in the south, and from the Garry Lake-Back's River area in the north—had been brought to Eskimo Point and Baker Lake. The Department of Northern Affairs devised the scheme of relocating all of these inland survivors in a new community on the coast. Here, it was planned, they would learn, with the help of coastal Eskimo, a new pattern of life, following the technology of the sea-hunters. It was not considered desirable to leave these survivors at Eskimo Point and Baker Lake, because these two centres were themselves already overpopulated in relation to the economic potential that existed at that time. The site chosen for the new community was originally Tavani, halfway between Eskimo Point and Rankin Inlet, but later changed to Whale Cove, which is a small bay near the end of the long peninsular which juts out into Hudson's Bay some sixty miles due south of Rankin Inlet.

The establishment of the new community, planned for the summer of 1958, was principally in the hands and under the authority of southern officers of the Department of Northern Affairs with no real northern experience. The ship which was chartered to bring in the materials for the new community was a vessel five times larger than any which can normally navigate near to the shallow waters of the Keewatin coast. Due to the Government administrative procedures, the ship did not receive its cargo and reach Arctic waters until late in the season, and then was unable to approach anywhere near enough to the community site to unload its cargo. Totally, the Government people responsible, mainly through lack of experience, rather than lack of dedication, encountered too many difficulties to achieve the objective of the project that year. All of the supplies were ultimately unloaded at Churchill. A small group of people began to collect at Whale Cove that winter, but the majority of the inland families involved in the project, remained either at Eskimo Point or at Rankin Inlet. Many were flown to Rankin when this settlement was chosen as the alternative site for the inland people until the Whale Cove settlement could be properly established.

At Rankin Inlet, these people were placed under the authority of a recent Government acquisition from the Hudson's Bay Company, an Eskimo-speaking man of enormous energy, and extremely manipulative methods of dealing with the Eskimo people. The enterprise was named the Keewatin Re-establishment Project, ("K.R.P.").

Thirty shack-type buildings were hurriedly erected on a slope about a mile away from the main community, a small one-room school was built, and a large quonset hut was put up. In the quonset hut was established the operation which the officer-in-charge felt to be central to his plans—essentially a store stocked and operated by the Government, in opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company store in the main settlement.

The inland migrants were set to a very regimented pattern of handicraft production, activity and bulk being emphasised almost to the exclusion of quality. Two families were brought from Povungnituk, (in Arctic Quebec)—the place where the newly-appointed Government officer-in-charge of the relocation project had recently been serving as a Hudson's Bay Company Manager—and one of the Quebec-coast men was set to the task of learning store management, while the other was considered to be responsible for leadership in the handicrafts work. The second man fairly soon left this work and went to work in the Mine. Far from encouraging the growth of independency of the people in the new sub-settlement, which was known as Itivia—the man in charge frequently stated that: "These people are completely dependent upon me. They will do anything I say. They do not know what to do without me. If I ever left them they would be completely lost."

Slightly over a year after the Itivia project was established, the Government officer responsible, who had had a tempestuously hostile relationship with the Area Administrator in charge of the whole area—very suddenly, and without the permission of his seniors, packed his belongings and his family into an aircraft and returned to Ottawa. The Itivia group was left without any programme, and minimal attention from the Government for the whole of the subsequent winter, until a Welfare Officer and Superintendent of Rehabilitation, (one man)—was sent in to wind up the whole operation in the Spring of 1960. In the meantime a dozen of the original Itivia people had moved down to Whale Cove, where the beginnings of the community there were made in the summer of 1959. One Government officer, a Projects Officer, was permanently stationed at Whale Cove in the late Autumn of 1960. He was responsible for economic development, based on renewable resource harvesting. During the same summer, the Roman Catholic Mission was built and has been staffed there continuosly since. The following year a school was built and first one, and then two teachers were posted to Whale Cove. Also during the summer of 1960, an evangelical organization known as the Continental Interior Mission, posted a man at Whale Cove. The Anglican Church, which claims all of the non-Catholic Eskimo there, built a small dwelling and installed an Eskimo Catechist in charge the following year.

In 1963, a white power plant operator was posted as a permanent resident to Whale Cove. The Eskimo population of Whale Cove, made up of family fragments from groups previously long resident around Ennadai Lake, Henik Lakes, Padlei,

Eskimo Point, Garry Lake and Chesterfield Inlet—was for long socially and culturally unable to produce any leadership of influence beyond the individual family groups. Dialect-group factionalism continued for several winters after the people had settled there. The Government officers in charge adopted an authoritarian approach, which did not encourage the emergence of local leadership, had the potential existed there. An extremely dynamic young man from Chesterfield Inlet, a man who had worked for the Nickel Mine in Rankin Inlet, and risen to some eminence in the Eskimo Council in Rankin Inlet, was posted to Whale Cove as a Government technical helper, and within a few months was assuming spokesmanship and leadership for the Whale Cove Eskimo. During the middle 'sixties Government interest in the community increased heavily, and major investments in the form of equipment, such as a long-liner boat, a large walk-in freezer, whale nets, and a Cannery Plant, were made.

A Co-operative, centred essentially around the originally-Government-run store, was set up, and by the end of the decade Eskimo control over the affairs of the Whale Cove Co-operative appeared becoming gradually firmer. It should be noted that though the Co-operative has had on its Board of Directors representatives from the inland groups, the initiative remained very largely in the hands of the young Chesterfield Inlet man, and another, even younger Chesterfield Inlet man, who was brought down to Whale Cove during this mid-'sixties era, because he had relatively "high"—(grade five) education, to take over the running of the store. The cannery was believed by the mid-'sixties to be an established success, with its products being sold by Hudson's Bay Company stores in one or two locations in the north. The control of the cannery was entirely in the hands of a Government specialist, though the product was handled through the Co-operative. Economically, Whale Cove is now becoming increasingly sound, the game in the area is sufficient to feed the present population of two hundred relatively substantially and to provide a modest product for sale elsewhere. A negative factor in this situation is the retail store, which, through various management difficulties deriving originally from external Ottawa control—has a clientel with enormous and unmoveable debts, and prices are very high. The Government began giving the Eskimo more of a hand in the local running of the store, from 1964 onwards, though not sufficient training to overcome the problems created. Though the inland people have tended to continue turning their hunting activities toward the land and the rivers and lakes, and only very tentatively and briefly toward seal hunting and whale hunting, about fifty per cent of the inland-trained hunters are now actively concerned with the sealing and whaling during the spring and summer.

After the basic establishment of Whale Cove, about one hundred people continued to live in the Itivia shacks, the population being added to by rehabilitation referrals from other communities—until the operation of the separate settlement was wound up in

the spring and summer of 1962. When the Welfare Officer and Rehabilitation Superintendent arrived in the Itivia community in 1960 he found these starvation survivors, left mainly alone by Government and mining people in the main community—in a very advanced state of demoralization, dirt, ill-health, and social and economic distress. A previous Government Welfare Officer had designated most of the dwellers of the thirty houses in Itivia as cases for "perpetual custodial care", with no fewer than three individuals described as hopeless paralytics. None of these "paralytics" were in fact paralyzed, and in one instance, a head of family so designated responded sufficiently well, that in exactly one month after the arrival of the Welfare and Rehabilitation superintendent, he was found employment with the Nickel Mine and held his job without a break until the Mine closed down over two years later. All the other members of the community in Itivia responded in such a way, over a year, as to become socially and economically sufficiently competent, and separate custodial care was not necessary. Some of the Itivia residents moved back to Baker Lake and Eskimo Point, others went to Whale Cove, others to Chesterfield Inlet, one family went back to Igloolik, and the majority of the Itivia people moved into the main Rankin Inlet community. It is not without significance that the Welfare and Rehabilitation Superintendent responsible for the rehabilitation of the Itivia people, as well as for all the other welfare considerations in Rankin Inlet and elsewhere in Keewatin at that time, was fluent and sensitive in the use of the Eskimo language, with a background of some ten years of work among the Eskimo previous to arriving at Rankin Inlet. The approach of this individual, living with these people, in Itivia, was based on anthropological observations and analysis, combined with modern non-Freudian social work principles.

CHAPTER VII

Government in Rankin Inlet

Against the brief background which has been offered of the social and cultural antecedants of the Eskimo population of Rankin Inlet, it is now appropriate to describe briefly the development of the influences which are significant in the Rankin Inlet acculturation situation.

Physical Lay-out and Housing

The lay-out and the housing in the Rankin Inlet community during the period of this study must be described, not only to provide a physical picture within which the social developments can be seen, but also a very obvious demonstration of the social relationships and standards and policies which have been part of the history of the community.

The settlement lies on a tongue of land flanked on the north and on the south by the two arms of Rankin Inlet. The settlement overlooks a small and excellent natural harbour and was dominated by the head-frame and mill buildings of the Nickel Mine. Clustered around the mine buildings, and interconnected by a network of boxed-in and insulated steam, water, and sewer pipes (the "utilidor"), were the buildings of the White population of Rankin Inlet. On the ridge to the south of the white peoples' buildings and very clearly and obviously separated both by design and by a physical distance of some four or five hundred yards from the main cluster of the White peoples' area was the "Eskimo village". Here, by 1963, there were some seventy small wooden buildings of varying designs, laid out in four long lines and not serviced by the utilidor which links the houses and work-places of the southern Canadians. There was one insulated cold-water pipe up from the white compound to the Eskimo village, ending in a small insulated hut where there was a single tap. This was the water supply for the entire Eskimo village. Adjacent to the water hut, during the winter of 1964–65—there was finished a bath-house in which Eskimo families could wash, bathe, and where the women could do their washing. This was a local community effort, and the bath-house is supervised entirely by the Eskimo. Fourteen of the houses were somewhat larger buildings, twenty-four feet by twelve feet and divided into three rooms, served by electricity and having good oil stoves. These were built by the Mine for regular Eskimo

Mine employees, in 1958. There were sixteen rectangular, small one-room houses which were built in 1961 by the Federal Government as Eskimo "welfare" houses. There were four "shack-type" houses, which were built by the Department of Northern Affairs as low-cost rental housing in 1958. Until 1964 those houses had no interior wallboard, and were insulated with empty paper concentrate-bags, and had no electricity. The remainder of the Eskimo housing was made up of "rigid-frame" type houses, again single-room, ten feet square. These were also Government housing and available to the Eskimo on a rental-purchase basis.

There is no flush or outdoor privy sanitation in the "Eskimo village", and none of the Government houses have storm porches, except where the individual Eskimo occupants have constructed their own porches out of scrap material. None of the Government-owned houses were painted outside or inside until one coat was applied to some of the Government houses, sixteen of them, in the Spring of 1965. Many of the Eskimo dwellings have been painted on the inside on the initiative of the occupants and by the occupants themselves. A garbage-disposal service for the Eskimo village was inaugurated by the Mine in 1961, whereby each house was provided with a de-topped oil barrel, and a caterpillar-drawn sled, or wagon in the summertime, made periodical emptying tours, though often with long periods between collections. The Government took over this service in the winter of 1962, and added to it a night-soil disposal service, by the use of plastic bags placed in the chemical toilets of each dwelling. The plastic bags were hauled away as regularly as weather woul permit until the short summer season, when large movable tanks replaced the plastic bag service. A dumping area at the sea-edge to the north-east of the settlement was initially used for all community wastes. Shortly after the Mine closed, the Government opened up a series of garbage pits around the settlement, bulldozing several large pit areas, and occasionally burning what had not already blown away.

The Agency Area

The Agency area of Rankin Inlet lay along three principal roadways which are flanked with high piles of drifted snow for the larger part of the year and emerge as gravel, sand, and mud tracks some twelve to sixteen feet wide in the summer-time. In the Agency area, these roads were well-maintained by the machinery operated originally by the Mine and then by the Department of Northern Affairs. One road strikes west-east from the centre of the settlement toward the dock and harbour. The most populous road for foot traffic is the one which goes from the Agency area north–south and then winds up the hill in a westerly direction toward the Eskimo village. Another roadway running parallel with and slightly over a hundred feet north of the road down to the

dock, starts in the area of the Mine buildings and runs out east–west over the gently rising land behind the settlement, about twelve hundred yards to the gravel airstrip. This airstrip, built by the Mine, and now maintained by the Government, runs approximately north–south over some four thousand feet, has airstrip lighting and a substantial aircraft parking area and is very well cared for. In 1963 a non-directional radio beacon was installed by the Department of Transport, radically improving aircraft services to Rankin Inlet, and in 1964 a long-range rotating light beam was installed on a hill above the settlement.

At the confluence of the main roads of Rankin Inlet stands the impressive Hudson's Bay Company store, a well-built complex which includes sales area, warehousing, staff quarters, and a small office, all under one roof. The sales area is approximately forty-eight feet by forty-eight feet and the stock of the store includes almost all possible needs for the community from basic food-stuffs, to fancy foods, clothing, hardware, motor toboggans, canoes and fuels. (This was the only retail store during the period of this study. Today there is also a co-operative store, still under development. Along the various roadways of the Agency area were also located the work buildings and dwellings of the R.C.M.P. (on the north roadway) the Roman Catholic Mission (fifty feet to the north of the Hudson's Bay Company, also on the northern road), and the three-room school which spans the area from the west–east road leading toward the dock and another line of school buildings and dwellings to the south. In addition to the three-room school, which also contained the school office and store-room, there were three other single-room school buildings for use as classrooms, and a larger workshop used for the teaching of the industrial arts, plus a small "home-making cabin" for the teaching of the domestic sciences. Looming over the other buildings in the Agency area is a two-storey, unpainted structure, which was the Mine bunkhouse, and then, housed in one ground floor corner in a few rooms, the Department of Health and Welfare Nursing Station. It was also used for transient quarters by the Department of Northern Affairs, and was connected by covered corridor to a dining room building, which was partitioned off from the room which used to be the Mine beer hall and then became the Community Recreation Hall. From the dining hall another covered corridor ran to connect with five rooms which used to be used as the Mine offices, and then became a handicrafts centre operated by the Government. Partitioned off from these is a heated warehouse-stores area and office dedicated to the interests of the Government Technical Supervisor and his staff. Beyond this complex of buildings to the east and to the south were other workshops, warehouses, garages and storage dumps used by the Department of Northern Affairs. Most of these buildings were taken over from the Mine, but the principal Government Office area with an attached warehouse containing a large walk-in freezer, is in a substantial building erected by the Government in 1959.

On a low hill at the southeast corner of the Agency area stand the derelict Mine buildings, the one-hundred-and-fifty-foot high head-frame (still there), the Mill buildings (now demolished), the hoist house, and workshop—which between them dominate the whole agency area. A little below the main Mine buildings and close to the other warehouses stand the separate but inter-connected buildings which house the electric generator plant and the steam plant. Connecting all of these buildings in the Agency area is something which is still quite rare in the Arctic, a boxed-in insulated utilidor, which carries steam, hot water, cold water, and sewage pipes to all of the buildings.

White Peoples' Housing

Clustered closely together along the roadways of the Agency area, intermingled with the work-buildings—are the dwellings of the Agency employees. They vary in design from the rather small, compact two-bedroom Mine staff houses, six in all, now occupied by the employees of the various Government agencies, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Roman Catholic Mission, to the most recent, large, three-bedroom residences built by the Department of Northern Affairs for its senior officers. In 1964 there was a total of fifteen residences owned by the Department of Northern Affairs for use as family-type dwellings for its employees. The Department also owned another building, a former Continental Interior Mission building which it bought and used as transient quarters.

All of the Agency dwellings are well furnished, fully serviced with running hot and cold water, electricity, flush toilets, and are equipped with bath-tubs, washing machines, refrigerators, freezers, automatic washing-mashines and dryers, electric or propane stoves, and installations for heating by steam, or by oil-fired hot-air furnace, or both. The most recently-built Government staff dwellings of the period, erected in the previous two or three years, had wall-to-wall carpeting, fitted lamps, thermopane windows, and very elegant wooden panelling on some of the walls. The quality of all furnishings in Government dwellings is above average southern middle-class standards.

It is also true that there appears to be some inconsistency in the way some of the Department of Northern Affairs staff houses were fitted out, in that some do not have as good furnishings, fittings and appliances as others according to rank, and all Government buildings leak in the Springtime. Repair and maintenance of these houses is carried on by Government technicians who are either resident in Rankin Inlet or who come into the settlement from the Regional Headquarters in Churchill on periodical visits. The relatively low token rent which the Government employees paid covered all of the services, though in fact total costs exceeded the rents paid by about eighty-five

percent. For example, a Government officer receiving six thousand five hundred dollars in annual salary, plus one thousand eight hundred dollars "Northern Allowance" (later rather inappropriately called Isolated Persons Allowance)—paid a total rent on a three-bedroom house of eighty-five dollars per month. The rent for some of the previously described one-room dwellings built by the Government for Eskimo housing was, at the same time, as much as thirty-five dollars per month.

Recent Trends away from Separation

When the Eskimo village on the hill was first established, the empty space between it and the nearest White agency buildings, (the Anglican Church which stands on the road leading to the village), was slightly less than a quarter-of-a-mile. This was a "buffer zone", purposely set up by the Mine management so as to "protect the village" from bunkhouse-dwelling white men in search of women. Mine policy punished such forays severely. Since then, Government construction of staff dwellings, and the installation of more Eskimo-housing, progressively narrowed the gap, so that by the end of the period under study, the nearest agency staff dwelling was scarcely more than six-to-seven hundred feet from the edge of the Eskimo village. At the same time the closest agency dwelling happened to be one of the newest, and largest staff dwellings, and its contrast with the Eskimo dwellings was rather strong and telling. It should be noted that by 1965, in contrast to the situation four year previous, there were three Eskimo families, whose heads were employed by one or other of the White agencies—living in dwellings in the White agency ares. In addition, another family made up of a young man of Labrador ancestry but born and brought up in Keewatin, and his Eskimo wife and adopted child, also lived in the White agency area. With the exception of what was then the R.C.M.P. Special Constable's house (which used to be a Mine staff house), the dwellings of the other indigenous Keewatin people living in the agency area are smaller, one-bedroom dwellings, but they do have electricity, running hot and cold water, shower facilities and flush sanitation. In one case the house was minimally and sparsely furnished by the Department of Northern Affairs, in another, slightly better furnished by the R.C.M.P., and in the two other cases furnished by the Eskimo residents at their own expense.

One house which stands on a hill away from the White agency area and overlooking it, and more adjacent to the Eskimo Village, is, like the Eskimo dwellings, not serviced, but, again like many of the Eskimo dwellings, does have electricity. The pathway which leads to this house from the Eskimo houses and then on down to the White agency area carries a fairly steady traffic of Eskimo people visiting that house, passing by on their way to the northern fishing and hunting grounds, and passing on their way down to

the Hudson's Bay Company. This house is the permanent home of the writer and his family.

THE GROWTH OF ADMINISTRATION

During the time when the Nickel Mine was moving from the development phase toward the certainty of production, other White agencies began to add themselves to the community. Among the first were the Hudson's Bay Company and the Department of Northern Affairs. From this period onward, the Mine Management and the Department of Northern Affairs worked, if not always in perfect accord, at least in rather close liaison.

Schoolroom Education

With the encouragement of the Mine Management, a school was established by the Department of Northern Affairs, during this period, first a one-room affair, and then the following year a three-room school with an office. In 1960 a separate one-room school building was added to the complex and at the same time an Industrial Arts Workshop and Home-making Cabin. In 1961 the single-room school building from Itivia was partly dismantled and brought over to the main Rankin settlement. At the peak of the Rankin Inlet population in the Spring of 1962, six separate classrooms were in operation, with shop instruction and home economics being offered to the older children at the same time. Adult education was begun by the Mine, who employed a series of young men who taught English, Arithmetic, and a little Geography under the auspices of Frontier College. The Mine also taught prospecting and elementary geology to all Eskimo men that they could recruit, whether they were Mine employees or not. In the winter of 1958–59, the Department of Northern Affairs began a small Adult Education programme, teaching the same subjects (English, Arithmetic and Geography). During the same winter, and again, the following winter, the writer, on a voluntary basis, taught the Eskimo language to White agency employees. During the winter of 1962–63, a more intensive programme of cooking and home-making instruction, including dietary enrichment with local resources and budgeting, was taught, partly, and essentially practically—in the Eskimo homes—by the wife of the writer. The children begin school at the age of six, for regular curriculum instruction, though during the winters of 1959 to 1962 and of 1963–64, there was, for a time, twice a week after regular school, a small pre-school class for five-year-old, provided voluntarily by teachers in their spare time.

The curriculum taught was a total transplantation of the curriculum taught to White children in the southern provinces, based principally in Keewatin on the Manitoba

curriculum, but usually influenced by the curricula of the provinces from which the individual teachers came. Text books and teaching materials, instructional devices and orientation aids were American or southern-Canadian. A very few teachers occasionally introduced to a very minor degree, material drawn in some way from the Arctic environment, and thus a potential interest-bridge for the Eskimo children, but no serious or broad programme of curriculum adaption for northern needs developed under the Department of Northern Affairs Educational programme. Indeed the senior education officials and many others in the Education Division actively opposed such adaptation.

Salary scales for the teachers were somewhat in excess of the rates for teachers of equivalent qualifications in the highest-paying province in the south, and the teachers received in addition the eighteen hundred dollar per year "Northern Allowance". The standard staff accommodation is provided for the teachers, and as with other Government employees in the North, their travelling expenses are subsidised. The teachers, are not, however, regular Civil Servants, but contractual employees. They were subject to the authority of the local Area Administrator. The teachers were usually left to exercise full authority over matters of professional concern, and in this were subject to the authority of the school Principal locally, and the Supervisor of Education at Regional Headquarters in Churchill. He in turn was responsible to senior people at various levels in Ottawa.

There are areas wherein the teachers and the administrators find some overlapping of interests, and these, along with the sense of dependency of the teachers upon the lay administration—were sometimes sources of distress and discord. There was a very high turnover-rate of teachers, with very few returning after their departure south at the end of the school year in June, to teach for more than one year, or two years at the most. There was in the early 'sixties one husband-and-wife teaching team who spent two years at Rankin and then spent a year outside, after which they returned to Rankin Inlet for one further year of teaching. The two women teachers who remained at Rankin Inlet for more than two consecutive years—stayed because they married men who were in both cases among the more long-established White agency employees in the settlement. Between 1960 and 1964, in a six-room school, a total of twenty-two professional teachers passed through Rankin Inlet.

It has been pointed out that the usual starting-age of Eskimo children in schools in the North West Territories is six, at which point they come to school knowing only their traditional language. Nevertheless, the policy of the Department of Northern Affairs was firmly negative toward the Eskimo language, even to the usual practice of the teachers of refusing to use the Eskimo names of the children, but insisting on using the baptismal names given to them by the missionaries. English was the language of instruction for all subjects, and the normal practice of the teachers was to insist upon its

use at all times in the school. Some teachers reprimanded and even punished children for speaking Eskimo, even in the playground.

The younger Eskimo children particularly are usually very shy, and some months go by before most of the teachers have been able honestly to admit to any sense of rapport with their pupils. At least a full year goes by before there is any ease of communication between the teachers and the children, and quite often a longer time than that. Without exception, every teacher that has passed through Rankin Inlet has said:

"It takes a whole year to even start to know und understand the Eskimo kids."

Nevertheless, the teachers have frequently commented that the Eskimo children appeared to be extremely keen, in most cases, to learn, and that absenteeism und unpunctuality were, for most of the year, of lower incidence than is averagely normal in similar grades in the south. Most Eskimo people have remarkably retentive ears for tune, and the tendency has been, in Rankin Inlet, for the teachers to respond enthusiastically to the childrens' obvious enjoyment of singing. During the early 'sixties there were school Principals who were personally exceptionally talented as performers, and very interested in organizing entertainments. Much time was given to singing, as a result, particularly during the five or six weeks prior to the regular Christmas concert and the occasional year-end concert. One year during this period, the front rows of the hall for the concert were reserved for the White's and their seating too designated according to rank. Eskimo parents were then allowed to fill in behind.

In summary then, it may be noted that the Eskimo children are inhibited in their educational programme by the obvious cultural barrier between themselves, their teachers, and the world their teachers represent, being shy, and unable to understand either the teacher or the curriculum materials presented for much of the initial year-and-a-half. Even with older pupils, teachers have found that it has taken them many months for their pupils to adjust to them, and the problem was not only that of learning to respond to the new teacher, but also to deal with the different curriculum approach which accompanies every individual teacher. Where these forms of adjustment have to be made repeatedly at rather frequent intervals, the progress of the teaching programme, inhibited as it already is by difficulties of language and socio-cultural unfamiliarity of material, is further slowed down.

Though the intelligence tests which have been administered to the Eskimo children, themselves being subject to cultural bias, have demonstrated, insofar as they are valid, a notably high average among the Rankin Inlet pupils, it is a fact that at by 1965 there was no Rankin Inlet child who had been educated throughout in the Rankin Inlet school, who had achieved higher than Grade Five. (By then, the school had been fully operational eight years.) In southern Canadian schools where English is the language of instruction, with the average southern home environment, with English speaking

parents, with radio, television, periodicals, other reading materials and home conversation—the average city child starts school with at least two years advantage over the Eskimo child who is confronted with exactly the same curriculum, and has none of these advantages built into the home environment. Though most Eskimo homes now had radios, reception was fluctuating and unreliable, and as a non-formal educational aid, the twice-weekly movie show was, for years, more highly-valued than the usual quality of the films would justify. About 1962, the teachers realised that the large number of children who went to the evening movie shows were often too sleepy to learn well the following day, and children were banned from attendance, but given a special matinée exhibition on Saturdays. Nevertheless, many children, even yet, are not in maximal physical condition for learning.

Home Conditions and Education

The home conditions of most of the Eskimo school children were such that learning were seriously inhibited. Without exception, all Eskimo homes at Rankin Inlet were overcrowded. Many children slept as many as two or three in one bed. Some slept on the floor. (Today, despite real advances in housing, similar overcrowding is still widespread.) In most Eskimo homes the tide of visiting flows in and out of the houses until late in the evening. For most Eskimo children, whose parents were never habituated to clock-patterns, there is no such thing as regular bedtime hours. The result is that the majority of Eskimo children have less sleep than they maximally need for health and full mental alertness. During the life of the Mine and to a very large extent since, the diet of the Eskimo children has been based between eighty to one-hundred-percent on food bought from the Hudson's Bay Company Store. For most of the time since the school began, in 1957, almost all of the mothers of the Eskimo school children have been seriously limited in their knowledge of how to deal with such food. Even in the homes where incomes were, for a period, comparatively high, during the time of the Mine, medical authorities were able to identify many indicies of avitaminosis, and though the one period of cooking instruction in the Eskimo homes did begin a notable process of improvement, much yet remains to be done, in that the standard of eating in Eskimo homes is still, in the majority of cases, less than that necessary for the full health and vigour of a learning child. It may be noted, however, that in all but about half-a-dozen families in Rankin Inlet, the children receive (though unable to do home studies because of home conditions, and unable to consult their parents on their learning)—the most strenuous and consistent encouragement from their parents to benefit as much as they can from the school education programme.

In the autumn of 1964, nine children were sent to a newly-opened residential pre-

vocational school in Churchill and two other children were sent for a second year to the residential school at Yellowknife. Both the residential school pupils and their parents have stated that they suffer by the separation, and without exception, the parents demonstrate ambivalences of attitude, favouring the educational advancement of their children, but speaking lengthily on their regret that the children are very obviously alienated from them by this process of away-from-home education.

The Area Administrator and His Aides

Like the school-teachers, the administrators who have passed through Rankin Inlet have been people of enormous influence over the lives of the Eskimo population, and have also been represented by a large and rather rapid succession of individuals. From the Spring of 1960 until summer 1964, there were five individuals responsible for the rôle of Area Administrator, and a total of seven since the Rankin Inlet position was created in 1957. Though the local Area Administrator was held responsible, by the policy and procedures of his Department, for literally everything that went on in his Area, (though the extreme and all-encompassing degree of this sense of responsibility was not-infrequently questioned by the representatives of the other White agencies in the area)—he was in fact the lowest man in a very long chain of command, which led ultimately but very firmly to the Department's headquarters in Ottawa. In Ottawa was the Northern Administration Branch, headed by a Director and two assistant Directors, who presided over the whole of the administration of the North West Territories. They presided also, over a number of Divisions, who acted as "specialists" in matters of policy development, planning, and day-to-day administration. These divisions consisted of the Educational Division, the Welfare Division, the Industrial Division, the Engineering Division, the Territorial Division, the Resources Division, and the Administration Division. To these Divisions were referred matters which fell within their special competence, both from the Directorate and the Deputy Minister's Office above, and from the District Offices below them. The District of Mackenzie office was in the north, at Fort Smith, N.W.T. However, the District Office responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Eastern Arctic was firmly established in Ottawa. There, the Administrator of the Arctic with his own specialist advisers detached from the specialist Divisions, was responsible for a large variety of detailed decisions concerning matters of administrative concern, (which, as already has been pointed out, encompassed, in the minds of the Department, everything that went on in the North)—for every community, camp and individual in the Eastern Arctic. Though the responsibility of the Administrator of the Arctic was enormous, his authority was somewhat limited, and a considerable amount of decision-making has to be referred "up" to the Branch head-

quarters. The formal portal of entry for administrative material going to the Branch was the Director's office, and any correspondence coming out of the Branch to the District offices had also to pass through the Directorate. Thus the Director of the Northern Administration Branch exerted a great deal of control, despite the official statement that authority was in the process of being decentralized.

The next line of authority after the District Office in Ottawa was, for the District of Keewatin, a Regional Headquarters, with a Regional Administrator and a staff of specialisers. For Keewatin, in the Northwest Territories, the Regional Headquarters lies to the south, in Manitoba, at the port of Churchill. For the Area Administrator in the Northwest Territories, the field officer, the Regional office was the focus of attention. All correspondence, without exception, by very rigid ruling, had to pass only between the Area Administrator and the Regional Administrator. The individual in charge of Regional administration carried enormous responsibilities. The bulk of paper-work which he had to handle was such that his visits into the North West Territories were infrequent, rarely more than four times a year, and always hurried and harried. A fairly definitive test of the *actual* authority that an Administrator had, is to define exactly how much money he was permitted to control as a purchasing authority, by his own signature. The Regional Administrator of the middle 'sixties was responsible for several millions of dollars worth of equipment, buildings, staff, and on-going programmes. Nevertheless, he was permitted, on his own signature, to make purchases which could not exceed a total of two hundred dollars on any given administrative day. (This is in contrast with the Administrator in equivalent position in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, whose purchase authority was at that time five thousand dollars.)

At the Area level, the Administrator was again a person held profoundly and broadly responsible, but whose permitted extent of authority is very rigidly limited. The Area Administrator's purchasing authority for example was twenty-five dollars and until 1962, it was five dollars. Nevertheless, the Area Administrator was held responsible for all of the buildings, dwellings, garages, workshops and Eskimo housing, for the welfare of his staff, including the teachers, the technicals, his clerical help, his Eskimo employees, and he was also responsible, insofar as he found the time, for the welfare of the Eskimo population. He it was, who was responsible for the issuance of Social Assistance. ("Relief")—except in the few locations in the Northwest Territories where there was a resident Welfare Officer. Though some settlements had a Technical Supervisor, as was the case in Rankin Inlet, the authority of the Area Administrator over all of the technical concerns—was final. Area Administrators received at that time ten months of training in Ottawa, before they are given a Northern posting, and such was this training, that the genuinely conscientious Area Administrator felt that he was only doing what was right and expected of him, in suggesting to the Hudson's Bay Manager

that he "spruce up" his buildings (invariably the best-kept in the Settlement) in the springtime, exhort the Eskimo to go to Church, and indicate to the R.C.M.P. that he expected them to patrol the Eskimo village more frequently. (These examples are actual instances noted during the period of this study). The Area Administrator was also expected to take the principal lead in all community affairs, concern himself directly with the deliberations of the Eskimo Council, and to oversee and be responsible for the meeting of all aircraft, and the accomodation of all transients. Though often cut off from easy and frank contact with the people of his community, particularly the Eskimo, because of the restraints, fears, and occasional hostilities which the official definition of his position aroused—the Area Administrator was accepted by his Department, and by almost every other agency or individual from the south—as the official spokesman for his settlement. This anomaly persisted, despite the fact that the constraints of his position and the shortness of his stay[1] made it virtually impossible for the man to speak with intimate knowledge and feeling, from within the community.

The first Administrator posted to Rankin Inlet during the development phase of the Mine, was principally responsible for assisting the Eskimo and the Mine Management in matters concerned with Eskimo labour. At that time, all such Officers in the Northwest Territories were known as "Northern Service Officers". Their terms of reference were extremely vague, but the intention of the Administration in its early years was that these men be in close contact with the Eskimo people—represent their interests wherever there were employment opportunities, protect them from exploitation, and personally involve themselves in any opportunity for economic development using local resources. The change of title, substituting the concept of northern service for area administration, reflected the way in which the administration grew. Late in 1958, a Welfare Officer, a trained, Freudian, case-work-oriented social worker, was added to the Rankin Inlet staff, with responsibilities extending all over Keewatin, as well as the base settlement. When this individual left the north in the late winter of 1960, he was replaced by another Welfare Officer, who was also responsible for the rounding off the rehabilitation programme in Itivia. Since the resignation of this individual in the Spring of 1963, the Department of Northern Affairs appeared unable to recruit a Social Worker to replace him.

In 1963, a permanent "Projects Officer", responsible for assisting with renewable resources harvesting among the Eskimo, was posted to Rankin Inlet. For over two years, since the late Spring of 1963, a contract employee of the Department of Northen Affairs was responsible for building up an Art and Handicrafts Centre among the

[1] Over fourteen years, this administrative position in Rankin Inlet, with its various titles, has been occupied by each incumbent an average of 1.35 years.

Rankin Inlet Eskimo people. His special task was the introduction of the technology of ceramics to the Eskimo, but two navigation seasons passed after his springtime arrival, and no materials were sent for this project. During the winter of 1964–65 however, materials were finally sent in by air, and a total of twenty men were involved in ceramic work. A few spend all of their time at the Art Centre, and the majority divide their time between the Centre and occasional forays out to hunt, trap, and fish. Including the work of the women in the Art Centre, (and in addition to ceramicists and a few walrus-ivory carvers, there are a number of carvers in soapstone, whose sculptures have become exceptionally well-known in the south), about one hundred Rankin Inlet people are involved in the Art and Handicrafts project. It provided, by winter 1964–65, a total income of five thousand dollars per month divided amongst a population of Eskimo who by then numbered three hundred and ten. The man in charge of the project, and other competent observers—were sure that this project could put over $ 8 000 into the community, or even more, but at that time Departmental policy limited the expenditure of such funds to a maximum of $ 5 000, whatever the potential. When the project later passed into the control of the Territorial Government in Yellowknife, much more radical cuts were made, but the project goes on.

The part of the administration which represents the largest capital investment, and employs the largest number of men, is the technical operation of the Government. When the Mine closed down, the Department of Northern Affairs invested heavily in the purchase of Mine buildings and equipment. A total of five white men, including the Technical Supervisor, and a total of seven Eskimo men under the same supervision, were permanently employed in Rankin Inlet in the maintenance and operation of the buildings and equipment, which include bulldozers, trucks, steam and power generating plants, tracked vehicles and a wide variety of smaller appliances. On average, an additional two or three Eskimo men were employed for shorter periods almost every month of the year on a casual labour basis. The short summer season, when a great deal of building maintenance and repair is necessary—is the occasion, usually, for the engagement of a few more Eskimo helpers, though until the late 'sixties they rarely exceeded half a dozen in number. For new construction work, it was still the practice of the Department to hire carpenters, painters, and other such help from the south. This practice, on several occasions, aroused criticism among Eskimo, who have observed the considerable expense to which the Government has gone to send out young Eskimo men on vocational training courses, but then, was sometimes unable to find them work on their return to the north because, in some instances employment opportunities were taken up by White men sent from the south by the same administration, to do work which the Eskimo trainees felt themselves competent to undertake.

CHAPTER VIII

Industry and Commerce in Rankin Inlet

THE MINE

Pay and Skills

It was in fact the stated policy of the Department of Northern Affairs, almost since its beginning, to give every encouragement to potential employers of Eskimo labour, not only by placing some pressure on employers to give first opportunities to local Eskimo men, but to provide vocational training for Eskimo people to improve their employment potentialities, and to assist Eskimo in travelling and re-establishing themselves anywhere in the country where employment opportunities existed. It was the Department of Northern Affairs that took the lead in insisting, insofar as it was able, that everywhere in the North West Territories, wage rates reflect the national standards set up by the Department of Labour.

There was a general and vague impression that the majority of the Eskimo who worked at North Rankin Nickel Mine received very high wages, but this was in fact not so. By comparison with many construction jobs undertaken by private enterprise in the Arctic, particularly on the DEW Line, from 1955 to 1957, when incomes of less than fourteen dollars a day were rare, earnings at Rankin Inlet were not notably high. When one considers moreover that transportation costs raise retail prices—and thus the cost of living, an average of thirty percent higher than in a central Prairie city such as Winnipeg—it will be realised that Eskimo earning at Rankin Inlet were, for the large majority, barely enough to pay basic living expenses from month to month.

In 1958, the lowest rate for a labourer was seventy-five cents. By 1962, this had risen to eighty-three cents. The top labourer rate in 1958 was a dollar twenty-five per hour, and by 1962 it was a dollar forty-five.

It has already been stated that in its early development stages, the Nickel Mine did not employ local labour. After the arrival of J. A. Easton at the Mine site in 1957, this policy was radically changed. With the co-operation of the Department of Northern Affairs, the Mine actually sent out employees to recruit Eskimo labour from other settlements. Boatloads were brought up from Eskimo Point and down from Chesterfield Inlet. With Government assistance, other Eskimo were flown in from Coral Harbour and Baker Lake. From the winter of 1956–57 onwards, there was a steady migration by dog-team from Chesterfield Inlet to Rankin Inlet. In 1955, the total popu-

lation of Eskimo trading into Chesterfield Inlet numbered approximately three hundred and twenty. By the Autumn of 1961, when the population of Chesterfield was sufficiently reduced that the Hudson's Bay Company felt justified in closing its store there, the Chesterfield Inlet population was slightly over ninety. The first Eskimo engaged by the Mine were set to work as labourers on the construction phases of the development.

When the Mine went into production, in 1957, the labour force was categorised by three main divisions, Surface, Mill and Mine. In the Surface division, Eskimos worked as labourers, bulldozers' and truck operators, carpenters' helpers, plumbers' helpers, and electricians' helpers, with seasonal work available to a few men as prospectors' helpers, and boatmen during the navigation period. Two bulldozers and a caterpillar front-end loader were operated by Eskimo, as was one nine-yard Euclid ore-haulage truck. Wage scales varied from one dollar and fifty cents an hour to one dollar seventy-five. The plumbers' helpers started at one dollar an hour, and one Eskimo man became the full-time Mine plumber, responsible entirely himself, for both construction and maintenance and repair plumbing, at rates rising from one dollar fifty an hour to one dollar eighty-five an hour. The Eskimo carpenters, many of them Mission trained to a high degree of skill at Chesterfield Inlet, started at a dollar twenty-five an hour, and were earning a dollar-fifty by the end of the Mine's life. The principal electrician's helper was earning, at the end of the Mine's life, a dollar eighty-five an hour.

Men who performed to the satisfaction of the Mine management as surface labourers, and evinced a strong desire to move into other phases of the Mine operation, were led into work either in the Mill or the Mine itself. It should be pointed out that there were an average of a dozen Eskimo labourers who were happy to stay on the surface crew and never identified themselves with the Mine to the degree of wishing for advancement, being only at Rankin because of a need to make a living. The Mill was also a testing area, where newly-arrived Eskimo employees were sent to begin their careers, either as crusher helpers at rates varying from seventy-five cents to a dollar twenty-five cents an hour, or pebble-mill helpers earning at the lower end of the labourer bracket, or as drier helpers, also earning in the lower half of the labourer bracket. Eskimo were also employed as rod-mill helpers and as filter operators, this latter being a skilled task which was paid at the basic rate of a dollar fifty an hour. Two Eskimo became mill mechanics, starting at one dollar thirty-five an hour and going up to a dollar fifty. One Eskimo became a crusher operator, earning two dollars an hour. In the Mine phase of the operation, the only pure labouring job was "deck man", with a top hourly rate of a dollar. Their task was to empty ore cars as they came up the head-frame, by tipping them down a chute leading to the Mill. A more responsible job in the hoisting phase of the Mine was that of cage-tender, which involved the very careful use of a series of signals between the two levels of the Mine and the hoist man. The cages were constantly being

Mainly, inter-ethnic group "drop-in" sociability was unusual. Here, in the author's home, it is frequent, as there is no language difficulty.

Rankin Inlet is now a major centre of art in Canada. This ceramic project is unique in the Canadian Arctic. The man in the foreground was killed by a polar bear in the early winter of 1973.

Younger generation using government-provided play facilities in the "Eskimo village". Over 61% of the Rankin Inlet population is under the age of 16.

The first "modern" wedding dance in Rankin Inlet. Spring 1966. Dances used—Eskimo versions of the old Scottish and American folk eight-group forms learned from the wintering whalers before the turn of the century.

used for hoisting both men and ore cars alternately at the two levels of the Mine and up to the head-frame, and any mistake or lack of alertness in cage-tending could be dangerous. Cage tenders started their wage scale at a dollar an hour, rising to a dollar seventy-five. The élite of the work force was considered to be the underground crew. Though starting a mucking-machine operator at a dollar an hour, pay rates often rose quite rapidly, as high as a dollar-ninety an hour for such a job, but in the most active period of the Mine's life, the great below-surface advantage was the production bonuses which could be earned by underground workers. During some months in 1958–1959 and 1960, some underground production bonuses received by Eskimo workers—though rarely by more than the élite half dozen—rose to as high as two hundred dollars per month extra to the regular pay. The best-paid and most highly-skilled men underground were the diamond drillers. They were responsible for the most skilled stope work, drilling and blasting the ore faces. Bulk and quality of production depended very greatly upon the judgement exercised by the diamond drillers in the way in which they placed their holes and adjusted their blasting. With the Department of Northern Affairs assisting to defray the expenses, the Mine conducted a Vocational Training programme for the Eskimo, with the objective of giving a selected number of the most intelligent and dependable underground men the opportunity to become diamond drillers. A total of six men were so trained, and operated with some success in this job. This programme began in 1960, and continued until the Mine closed. The diamond drillers received an average of two dollars an hour in wages.

There were a few Eskimo employees who received set monthly salaries. For example, the Eskimo labour Foremen received three hundred dollars per month. A man whose job was the care of the bunkhouse and cleaning of the dining area received a salary which started at a hundred and seventy-five dollars a month and ended as two hundred and forty-five. An Eskimo Watchman was also employed at the regular salary of two hundred and fifty dollars per month.

Between-group Brokerage

The Eskimo Foreman, a Qairnirmiut, was a man who valued the status and influence of his position at least as highly as his rather low salary. He was the son of a Chesterfield Inlet Hudson's Bay Company Post Servant, who had himself spent most of his life working for White people at Chesterfield Inlet. His English was simple and awkward, but adequate for his job. He was the man sent by the Management to bring in men to work at the Mine, and was mainly concerned with carrying messages for the Mine Manager or the various technical supervisors. He acted as interpreter for supervisors instructing Eskimo men, and assisted in disciplining people who had displeased

the supervisors. He was very profoundly and continuously concerned with the very lively hiring, rating and dismissal activities of the Mine management.[1]

Job Distribution by Group Origin

Without exception, the underground élite in the Mine were Aivilimiut from Coral Harbour, Repulse Bay or Chesterfield Inlet, and Qairnirmiut from Chesterfield Inlet. There were a number of Padlirmiut who worked on mucking-crews, but the majority of them, about eighty percent, were also Qairnirmiut and Aivilimiut, with the exception of one notably industrious and intelligent young man from Fort Chimo, Ungava. By contrast, ninety-five percent of the surface labourer crew were Padlirmiut and inland men from the Baker Lake area. One Padlirmiut was a heavy-equipment operator, usually occupied with the driving of the Euclid truck, two were Aivilimiut, and two were Qairnirmiut. All of the carpenter and plumber and electrical help was recruited from Qairnirmiut and Aivilimiut Eskimo. Though a fairly large proportion of the Aivilimiut and Qairnirmiut passed through the Mill during their Mine careers, most of the permanent employees in the Mill except the Eskimo mechanics and filter operators where inland people. Some of the Mill work is very dirty and almost all very noisy, and the work was not favoured by any Eskimo employee, other than those who few had the high-skilled and more permanent jobs. With one exception, a Qairnirmiut, all of the deck men were inlanders recruited from Eskimo Point or Baker Lake. Some Aivilimiut and Qairnirmiut held the cage-tender jobs for periods of a few months, but interviews recorded with every one of them, four in total, reveal that they found the work boring, as once the signals were fully understood it tended to be repetitive, and there were periods when they had to remain inactive but on the alert. The men who stayed on the cage-tender jobs longest were one Uqusissalimiut, a Baker Lake man of Padlirmiut ancestry, a Baker Lake man of Qairnirmiut ancestry, and an Avviamiut from Eskimo Point. The catering help, dish washers, bull-cooks and bunk-house attendent help tended to be usually recruited from among the inland people, although the occasional Qairnimiut youth passed briefly through that type of work.

Prestige

One of the most high-prestige groups among the Mine workers, either Eskimo or White, was the Mine Rescue Crew. This was made up of sixteen men, twelve of whom

[1] Further remarks germane to this heading appear during discussion of the labour pool rotational system, social relations, (Chap. X), the Social Protection Response, (Chap. XII), and in Chap. XIII, XIV and XV.

were Eskimo. As this was the crew which was to perform rescue work in the event of a mine disaster, every individual had to be certificated by the Territorial Mine Inspectors as being able to carry out the most dangerous, the most skilled, and the most arduous operations, immediately, efficiently, intelligently, and calmly, with full understanding of what was to be done, and with immediate response to the instructions of the crew leader. The crew was required to understand the theory of various aspects of mine rescue work, including gases and their detection, first aid, and the use of a variety of specialised equipment, including breathing equipment. Very rigid industrial laws govern the training, performance and testing of Mine Rescue Crews, who must attain a high standard under examination by the Territorial Mines Inspector in order to be permitted to perform the mine rescue work, and then only under certification issued officially by the Mine Inspector. This Mine Rescue Crew was inspected and tested at least twice yearly during the visits of the Territorial Mine Inspector. On three occasions the Territorial Mine Inspector said to the researcher that the Eskimo of the Rankin Inlet Mine Rescue Crew were among the best dragomen that he had seen in his long contact with the mining industry.

Attendance: Inter-actional and Cultural Factors

The Mine encountered, throughout its life, but particularly in its early years, difficulties in keeping some of the Eskimo employees steadily on the job. None of the Eskimo had been habituated, prior to their coming to North Rankin Nickel Mine, to repetitious work every day, seven days a week, throughout the year, winter after winter. Particularly in the early months and years of industrial employment, the psychological and material need to hunt pressed strongly upon most of the Eskimo Mine workers. Only rarely did absenteeism occur through sheer inactivity on the part of an individual. Ninety percent of the reasons offered, usually quite forthrightly, and without any sense of the apology, by men returning from a period of absenteeism to the job, was the need to go hunting. Otherwise, for the most part sickness, (often, according to the Mine Doctor, psychosomatic), was the reason offered for absenteeism. There were a number of instances, (the writer has records of fifteen incidents over the period June 1960–September 1962) where an Eskimo employee stayed away from the job after he had been disturbed, or even frightened by a vigorous harangue by one of the White Mine employees. Because of their traditional conditioning, wherein almost all relationships are very intimate and personal, the Eskimo were not used, in most cases, to the impersonal way in which a shift-boss might handle a situation, wherein a rather loud and demonstrative mode of speech might be used as the individual foreman's normal manner of handling men or particular problems. It is interesting to note that seventy percent of

the noted cases of withdrawal from such high-stress situations, involved inland Eskimo people. Qairnirmiut were the next most easily-affected group, usually, in distaste for the demonstrative behaviour of the White Mine people. Aivilimiut from Repulse Bay were to a lesser degree upset by this, though by no means impervious, and the Aivilimiut from Coral Harbour, particularly those who had worked with the Foundation Company on DEW LINE construction and other construction work—were the least affected by the White men's violent manner of address.

The Work-pool Rotation System

From early on in its life, the Mine maintained a beer hall for male Mine employees. Eskimo miners patronised this outlet, and though incidents of drunkenness among the Eskimo were not frequent, certainly no more frequent than among the White mine employees, some unpunctuality and absenteeism was attributed to occasional alcoholic hang-overs. The Mine management very strenuously insisted on punctuality, and the response of the Eskimo was in many cases to stay away from the whole shift, if for some reason they were delayed in getting to work. And of course, the desire for relief from drudgery, and to go hunting, persisted.[1] For all of the foregoing reasons, the Mine Management had to develop a system, having committed themselves by policy to the maximization of the local labour force, to deal with unpunctuality and absenteeism. The system which the Mine developed was to have on the payroll, on call, a larger number of men than there were actually jobs. Having the labour force living very near to the Mine site, it was relatively easy, when a man did not come onto shift, to send the Eskimo Foreman to seek for a replacement, especially among the lower skilled jobs. At the same time, the Mine succeeded to an increasingly large degree in teaching the Eskimo employees that they would rather a man stay away, having first told his Foreman that he intended to do so, than for him simply not to turn up. Thus the system developed whereby a man would tell his Foreman in most cases that he intended to miss a forthcoming shift or more, and he would either be instructed to find his own replacement and to tell the Eskimo Foreman who it would be, or the Eskimo Foreman would be given the job of finding the replacement. The largest amount of absenteeism occurred among the Eskimo in the lowest skilled groups, usually those not committed to the wage-earning way of life, or those beginning the process of adjustment to it. An absentee among the lower-skilled labourers was not difficult to replace. As men in the

[1] Though very few men felt more than initial fear when first beginning work, in the mill or underground, most found the enclosed and noisy work-life depressing after a time, and the hunting forays were satisfying, whether materially successful or not. A period in the open was important to many of the men. However, the more "industrialised" men contentedly followed recreational patterns very similar to those of the white workers.

lower-skilled jobs became more and more habituated to regular hours, steady work, and most important, increasing income, the tendency to irregularity of attendence diminished. Spring-time restlessness, however, infected everybody.

Two pressures were usually at play on the individual to motivate him to greater regularity on the job. In almost all cases, the wives or womenfolk of the Eskimo miners were very much attracted by the steadiness of income, and the apparent security, including housing, medical facilities, and nearness to food supplies, which the wage-earning life appeared to offer. The writer has records of only two families in which the womenfolk actively discouraged men from staying in wage employment. Another pressure influencing the Mine employees, once started, to greater regularity on the job, was the degree of financial committment which usually accompanied the patterns of settling in Rankin Inlet, and acquiring capital goods, and food and clothing debts at the Hudson's Bay Company. In traditional times the Hudson's Bay Company often carried the debt of individual trappers for several years, or even wrote it off, knowing that the individual would bring fur into the store when the trapping was good, and that the individual hunter was likely always to remain in the area. The Hudson's Bay Company at Rankin Inlet had to develop a different policy toward most people in Rankin Inlet, where almost the entire population, both Eskimo and White, seemed to be in a state of flux, with no great certainty in the minds of anyone, as to how long they would stay in the settlement. Thus the store tended to expect that debts incurred by Mine employees be at least reduced on a regular monthly basis by deductions from the pay cheque. Interview records also show that for more than three-quarters of the Eskimo population, the memories of the hardships of the traditional way of life and the relative security, apparently, of the wage-earning way of life, developed increasingly strong motivations toward the establishement of regular wage-earning as a permanent life pattern. Thus as men became more regular on the job, they were promoted to higher skills, and finally attained the stage, in the case of about twenty percent of the payroll, whereby they worked continuously, with the anticipation and long-term plan of taking a pre-arranged annual holiday (usually of three weeks duration), in consultation with the Mine management.[1]

This should not given the impression that all of the Eskimo, even in the medium skills, kept their jobs invariably. While seventy-five percent of the Eskimo payroll achieved a large degree of regularity, approximately twenty-five percent had a somewhat patchy employment history.

[1] Ninety percent of the "steady" Eskimo employees spent their annual holidays hunting in the local area, nine percent visited relatives in neighbouring settlements, and a few individuals essayed "trips" to Winnipeg and elsewhere in southern Canada.

A note on separation patterns is appropriate here. Very few Eskimo employees who became unhappy in their work ever came forward and complained, asked for a transfer, or formally quit the job. With very few exceptions (these being the more articulate young men with previous experience with the working world)—the pattern was for a dissatisfied man to become unpunctual and irregular in his job attendance, until, despite increasing threats from his foreman, he was dismissed the job. During this withdrawal period, the man would be paraded before the Mine Manager, who would harangue the delinquent with the assistance of the Eskimo "straw boss". His final dismissal was usually a very dramatic performance, with heartbroken assertions by the Mine Manager that he was disappointed in the delinquent man, that he had "let him down" and that he was "finished for good". The writer has records of only two instances involving Eskimo, where the Mine Manager, J. A. Easton—appears to have actually meant that his act of dismissal was final. In the majority of cases, a dismissed man would be recalled, either to his old job or to some other job, within anything from a month to three months. The researcher has a record of one man who was "finally fired" and re-hired no less than six times. Among the less articulate and assertive men, particularly among the Padlirmiut and Qairnirmiut, it was more common for a man to so perform as to get himself dismissed, than for the man to step forward and officially quit.

From the Spring of 1960, onward, however, a larger number of the Mine employees, particularly the Qairnirmiut and Aivilimiut, began to set about negotiating with the Management if they were not happy in their work. The Eskimo "straw boss" was used for this purpose quite frequently, but among the majority of the Eskimo, he was not popular and not trusted. He had the reputation of using his own personal likes and dislikes with a definite bias, in his intermediary rôle between the Management and the Eskimo. It was noted that his own kinsfolk and old Chesterfield Inlet associates were most favoured, and Padlirmiut treated with the least regard. There were frequent stories circulating among the Eskimo-speaking people of the community to effect that the Eskimo "straw boss" had caused a man to be severely harangued by a White authority, or even to lose his job, because he had taken a dislike to some individual. At the same time he was known to favour certain individuals particularly those to whom he was related, such that they received favours from the Mine out to proportion to their relative on-the-job merits. The "straw boss" had a very notably ingratiating manner with White people, and was very rarely known to disagree with any White person, or to "stand up for" the Eskimo people. He publically embraced and followed the opinions and desires and instructions of his employer without question. Thus for Mine employees who wanted to talk about their working problems, or ask for a transfer into another phase of the Mine operation, and in the last two years of the life of the

Mine, even to ask for a raise—it became more common to draw upon the interpreting services of someone from outside of the Mine, occasionally a younger relative who spoke some English, more rarely a missionary or the Hudson Bay Manager, but more and more the Eskimo-speaking Welfare Officer was drawn in as an intermediary for the Eskimo with the Mine management. Equally, the Mine management became more accustomed to drawing upon the services of this man to help explain and sort out problematical human situations among the Mine staff.

THE STORE

Money Economy

One of the very powerful acculturative influences in the Rankin Inlet situation itself has been the Hudson's Bay Company Store. From the time, very soon after it was first opened as a large marquee during the development phase of the Mine, the Rankin Inlet Hudson's Bay Company has offered a wide and very attractive range of stock, of a richness far in excess of anything available in any of the stores in the areas from which the Rankin Inlet population originally came. It has always been a source of fascination to a large proportion of the population. It was common, during the days when there was a steady trickle of newcomers into the settlement, to see the newly-arrived people, bulky in their traditional hunting-Eskimo clothing, faintly redolent of the astringent and nostalgic flavours of sealskin and country meat, simply standing, slightly aside from the mainstream of store traffic, perspiring with the heat and in an almost hypnotised form of excitement. In contrast to the simple flour, baking powder, tea, pilot biscuits, and tobacco stock of the fur trade posts from which they came—the large self-help food section of the Rankin Inlet store offered an enormous and bewildering variety of canned and small-packaged goods, frozen foods, even some delicatessen items, and a tremendous variety and bulk of candy, sweet biscuits and soft drinks. In many cases, food-buying was a matter of trial and error, with the simple tastes of the new-comers being confused and disappointed by the trial, and financially out of pocket by the error. Being unable to read the labels, people occasionally took home things which they did not know how to use. In 1960, serving a total population of around 600, the store sold an average of thirty twelve-can cases of soft drinks a day, and an average of one hundred and twenty pounds of fresh meat, mainly beef, from its freezer.

The furnishings of most Eskimo homes remained very simple. In 1960, thirty-eight out of sixty-five families surveyed were still using home-made beds, constructed of two-by-fours and plywood, covered with caribou hides, polar bear hides, or a simple flock mattress. In many of the homes, the construction of the bed followed the traditional pattern, being low off the ground, and of sufficient width that it stretched across the

largest part of the breadth of the back of the room, and was wide enough for the whole family to sleep in it together. In the Spring of 1965, while in many families, some of the children slept on small home-made beds or even on the floor, the parental generation of every home had a bed with springs and a mattress bought from the store. However, even in the earliest stages of money-earning, when the houses possessed little else beside the bed and a stove, often of the space-heater or small ship's cook-stove type—all had a radio, and some thirty-five houses in the Autumn of 1960 had operating portable record-players. Every house has one, two, or even more clocks, at least one being an alarm clock, and others being of the wall type. The pre-occupation with an anxiety created by time was demonstrated not only by the number of clocks in the Eskimo homes, but by the blossoming of wrist and pocket watches on the persons of Eskimo people of all ages and both sexes. Several times the writer observed younger men, during their first months of employment with the Mine, wearing a wristwatch on each arm.

In the fur trade stores all over the Arctic, cash was never used until 1958. Everywhere, the store had a traditional type counter with the goods behind it, and on the counter was a tray of metal tokens or discs engraved with half dollar, one dollar, two dollar, five dollar and ten dollar denomination symbols. When a man brought in his fur to trade, the trader simply piled up the appropriate number of discs in front of the hunter as he graded and priced each pelt. The man then traded, asking the trader to take what he needed off the shelves, and at the same time the appropriate number of discs were returned to the tray. If the amount of fur traded was not large, the trapper usually went on buying until all the discs were back in the tray. Otherwise, he would request that the balance due to him which he did not use in purchasing would be credited to him. More often, the trapper re-entered a situation of debt. Actual cash never entered into the transaction. For many Eskimo coming to Rankin Inlet, the purely-cash system employed by the Hudson's Bay Company was at first rather unfamiliar and somewhat difficult. For a people not conditioned to arithmetical multiplication, subtraction and division, the rapid calculations which were part of the normal retail system in the Rankin store were often rather bewildering and had to be taken on trust. There was widespread suspicion among the Eskimo that they were sometimes swindled by this sophisticated process, but a fair degree of vigilance was exerted by the Area Administrator, the single R.C.M.P. Constable who was posted to the settlement from 1959 onwards, and by many of the White workmates with whom the Eskimo became friendly—and despite the Eskimos' suspicions, no clear case of intentional cash swindling was then documented. From the outset, counter slips have been issued for all purchases, and it became the practice with some forty-five percent of the Eskimo household heads to carefully retain their counter slips, and with the help of the Welfare Officer, the school teacher, or their workmates, painfully to keep track of all of their

money. In point of fact, an unscrupulous trader in an old fur post would have a far greater change of exploitation than in the modern store set-up at Rankin Inlet, as the pricing of the fur was an arbitrary decision of the trader, and the goods that he passed over the counter to the trapper were very rarely marked as to price. Moreover, counter-slips were not used. Nevertheless, many of the Eskimo during their first two or three years of involvement in the money economy at Rankin Inlet said that they preferred the system used by the fur traders of the past. Some of the younger people acquired competence in simple money calculation somewhat sooner than the older people, and satisfaction with the cash system increased as the individual became competent to handle it. In 1958 the Hudson's Bay Company ceased the use of the metal tokens in their stores all over the Arctic under pressure from the Department of Northern Affairs. When the Government built its own store at Itivia, however, the first Officer-in-charge there, who felt strongly that the life of his sub-community should revolve round the store, introduced from the outset the use of money tokens instead of real cash. This was discontinued when the new Welfare Officer took over responsibility for that operation, until the time when the store was completely closed down and the remainder of its stock sent down to the Government store at Whale Cove.

For a large number of the Eskimo Mine workers and their wives, particularly the majority who were not among the earning élite, the money economy did not radically add to the material stability of their lives. That is to say, their earnings often no more than equalled, and in some cases, fell radically short of their expenditures. Paid every two weeks by cheque, the Eskimo cashed their cheques at the Hudson's Bay Company. From 1960 onwards the Area Administrator's office provided a banking service for the Eskimo through the Royal Bank of Canada in Churchill. Ultimately, approximately eighty-five percent of the Mine workers used this banking system, sending their cheques to deposit in the Royal Bank, through the Area Administrator's office, and having co-signed cheques made out for them by the Area Administrator in Rankin Inlet. The men would then take these cheques to be cashed at the Hudson's Bay Company. Throughout the time that the Department of Northern Affairs handled the Eskimo bank accounts, the Area Administrators, each in succession, dealt with the Eskimo accounts in an arbitrary manner, often deciding for the Eskimo how much should be drawn out; but because of other Administrative pressures, lack of ability to communicate, and mounting impatience with the complications which this system created—they very rarely attemped anything in the nature of budget counselling, which some of the Eskimo occasionally requested when they felt that their finances were becoming too problematical. Thus, though the Government had direct control over the financial affairs of the majority of the Eskimo population for a little over five years, very little

was attempted in the way of using this opportunity as an educational exercise and an opportunity to develop self-sufficiency among the Eskimo people.

In the store, Mine cheques or counter-signed Royal Bank of Canada cheques brought in by the Eskimo were cashed readily by the Hudson's Bay Company Office, usually in relatively small denominations, with twenty dollar bills being comparatively rare. For people unaccustomed to calculation, the quite large fistful of money which they received in return for their cheques was, for many, impressive and even intoxicating. People changed rapidly to the local practice of buying food on a daily basis, rather than in bulk, as in the past fur trading days, when it was normal to buy supplies for many months ahead. Approximately sixty-five per cent of the Mine payroll personnel could be designated as having been in the lower-income brackets, with monthly take-home pay averaging between one hundred and seventy five dollars and an approximate average of two hundred and fifty. The occupants of all of the Government-built Eskimo dwellings, without exception, complained of their houses being cold, leaky, improperly insulated, and generally badly-built. A thorough survey of all of the Government dwellings by the writer substantiated most of these claims. Thus, in mid-winter it was common for many such houses to consume as many as four or five forty-five gallon barrels of oil per month for heating. By the Spring of 1964, fuel oil prices had attained the level of twenty-two dollars and fifty cents per barrel, including a very substantial Government fuel tax. It may then be readily discerned how much of the income of the Eskimo workers was dissipated in fuel alone. Only for about two months in the summer—are the Eskimo homes not in need of large quantities of fuel. Oil is still used to fire the cook-stoves, which now are a feature of ninety percent of the Eskimo dwellings, but in mid-summer, the tendency is for the housewives to use small pressure stoves burning naphtha or kerosene.

During the period of this report there were some ten families among the Rankin Inlet Eskimo, headed by men in the employment élite, who were, however, able to make substantial savings. By the winter of 1961–62, there were two Eskimo Mine employees who used to visit the observer periodically, bringing their bank books, which they handled themselves, because they did not trust the Area Administrator or the Hudson's Bay Company, in a state of considerable concern at moments when they feared that their bank accounts might get below the level of three thousand dollars. One other man developed anxiety feelings and became increasingly suspicious not only of the Government, the Hudson's Bay Company, and his employers—but also of his own family—when his bank account appeared to be in danger of going below two thousand dollars. Two other Eskimo employees of the Mine, during this period, purchased bombardier

snowmobiles, and another father-and-son group bought a peterhead boat, in none of these cases using all of their savings to make these purchases. By the end of 1960, the homes of all of the élite group were equipped with washing machines, and seven had refrigerators. All had good, large, oil-fired cook-stoves, and all had radio sets which retailed at between ninety and one hundred and ten dollars. All of these men possessed canoes, twenty or twenty-two foot freighters, with outboard motors ranging in power from ten h.p. to thirty-five h.p. By contrast, the researcher observed the departure, following the close-down of the Mine in 1962, of four Eskimo Point families, who had spent a minimum of three years in wage-earning at Rankin Inlet. Three of these families had acquired outboard motors and canoes, and all were now wearing clothing entirely made up of fabrics purchased from the store, having long since disposed of their traditional skin clothing. The one family that lacked a canoe and outboard motor did have a hand-cranked new sewing machine, as did two other families. These totalled (along with the radio which every family possessed), the full extent of the capital goods which these families had been able to acquire during their stay at Rankin Inlet.

Anxieties

Here we may simply briefly summarize a few of the anxieties which were pressing upon the Rankin Inlet Eskimo, particularly during their first two or three years in the Mining settlement,[1] but also to a significant extent yet, in the present post-industrial era.

Time

Earlier notes have indicated that one significant source of anxiety among the acculturating Eskimo in Rankin Inlet has been the modern preoccupation with time. Even to the oldest male member of the community, who was never involved in the industrial work, every Eskimo home and person is plentifully supplied with time-pieces. The observer noted five male Mine workers between the ages of twenty-four and thirty-seven who were noticeably striving to achieve maximal acculturation and occupational success—all of whom, when visiting, or standing outside talking to their neighbours, consulted their watches with a frequency that amounted almost to a nervous tic. An illustration of how important the Eskimo often felt that time is to White people—is the tendency which has already been referred to of men to stay away from a shift if they

[1] Of course, Eskimo of both sexes evinced anxiety about the dangers of industrial working, and, to a slightly lesser extent, about illness, but having always lived with danger, and now having better access to medical help, these anxieties were modern variations on an all-too-well-known theme, though no less real.

seem likely to be late, indicating that they believed that the White bosses value punctuality even more than the presence of an individual to undertake a necessary job. White Mine foremen interviewed said that unpunctuality did in fact seriously derange the working pattern of the shift, where every man had a specific job to do, though integrated with the work of the other men on the shift—but they would have preferred the men to still come to work, even if late, rather than not come at all. The Eskimo found that often the foreman would harangue them alarmingly if they came to shift late, but that if a man did not come at all, and pleaded illness, the foreman quite frequently said nothing. Such was the fear of many of the Eskimo employees of the loud and aggressive speech which to the foreman was normally no more than his regular impersonal duty, but to the Eskimo a very personal and miserable experience—that the Eskimo employees often preferred to lose a day's pay rather than expose himself to such an experience.

People whose lives had traditionally been bracketed in time mainly by freeze-up and break-up—found themselves in Rankin Inlet required to respond to a number of different time demands. The Mine siren was sounded at seven o'clock every morning, at noon, and at the statutory hour for the children's curfew in the evening (a community service). Bell-ringing punctuated the school day for children undergoing a very thorough conditioning on the matter of time-keeping. People from fur-trading post areas where they were accustomed to having the trader open up the store at any hour of the day or night, according to when a man came in to trade, found that the store kept rigid hours, and that all Government Officials except the Welfare Officer, were available for interview in the office only during Ottawa hours. For an industrial operation particularly, strict time-keeping is considered essential, and as the traditional culture of the Eskimo people most particularly was lacking in time-keeping conditioning, the almost hectic atmosphere surrounding the importance of time-keeping in Rankin Inlet—was a source of certain anxiety to most of the Eskimo people.

Money

Though very few indeed of the Eskimo who worked at Rankin Inlet had ever earned as much money before, financial worries have been and still are a very prevalent source of anxiety among the Eskimo. A previous section has illustrated how bewildering many of the newly-arrived Eskimo found the cash and cheque practices of Rankin Inlet, and to this should be added the observation that anxiety about money was increased by the exhortations of Administrators, missionaries, Mounted Policemen, and even the Hudson's Bay Company Manager—to encourage better money-management—without anyone very often taking the time to explain how this might be done. Many Eskimo

were amazed by the rapidity with which money, spent on a day-to-day basis, and always appearing to be so plentiful at the beginning of each pay period—was dissipated, often running out as much as a week before the next pay cheque. Many Eskimo, as has been pointed out, were afraid that they were being "fleeced" by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the loud and frequent comparisons which their White workmates made between the prices in the stores in the south, and the prices of goods in Rankin Inlet—exacerbated the fears of many of the Eskimo that the store was exploiting them. The Hudson's Bay Manager himself responded to these feelings with an anxiety-state of his own, whereby he was constantly at pains to explain to both Eskimo and White about how the enormous transportation distances create the differential between the prices in the cities and prices in the Arctic, and he went so far as to draw up lists of goods sold in Churchill at the end of the mid-continental railhead, which were higher than goods retailed at Rankin Inlet brought by cheaper sea-borne transportation from Montreal. Though in most cases incapable of doing the necessary calculations, almost half of the Rankin Inlet adult population at one stage was carefully retaining Company counter slips, often for months on end.

Historically, the Eskimo had no sense of burden, and no sense of pressure about debt. Fur traders extended credit very happily, and carried debt over long periods, but with the high-volatile population situation in Rankin Inlet, and with the expectation of further movements always present, the store Manager rarely extended credit over periods of more than half a year at a time. Not only were the Eskimo under pressure to meet these obligations, but at the same time, they were under very heavy pressure from the Area Administrator, in a large number of cases (some sixty percent of the population), to pay the rents on the Government houses or to keep up the payments on those which were being acquired on a rental-purchase basis or through the use of the Government's Eskimo, Loan Fund.

In many families the women-folk were cautious about expenditure of funds, but some of the younger husbands particularly were under pressure to acquire, in addition to washing machines and refrigerators, such thing as electric frying pans, electric mixers, and mirrors, as well as the more practical furnishings of the permanent dwelling such as kitchen tables and chests of drawers. The majority of men constructed home-made tables (such things never existed in Eskimo iglus and tents)—but the drawers in the closetless and shelfless Eskimo housing were genuinely needed. Few of the younger women could entirely resist the wide variety of clothing offered in the Rankin Inlet store, and some men spent ten dollars a week on beer, such that totally the financial drain on the Eskimo wage-earner was almost frighteningly heavy and rapid.

Personal Contact and Communication

Very few of the Eskimo were completely at ease with the White people. Eskimo people from Baker Lake and Chesterfield Inlet were accustomed to a degree of White authoritarian aloofness (though kindly), but everywhere the White people have acquired a reputation for uncertain temper. In the Mine there were White men who did the same work and received the same pay as Eskimo, but whose attitudes varied from hearty friendliness, to resentment, and angry assumption of authority over the Eskimo merely on the basis of race. In the historical Keewatin settlements, the Eskimo, though increasingly subject to the authority of the traders and the missionaries, nevertheless, as hunters and trappers, helped themselves to be more independent, in their own known environment, and were intellectually and emotionally more secure. The time-counting, money-dealing, loud machine-age industrial world which confronted and quickly involved the Eskimo who came to Rankin Inlet, was very patently the White man's world. A very large number of adjustments had to be made almost at the same time, and in many cases, only the White people could give them the leads. For example they needed to know how to conduct themselves in negotiation with a forceful and mercurial Mine Manager, how to handle their money, and how to go about certain jobs. Advice and example varied according to the personality, maturity and knowledge of the individual White man, and some of the White men themselves, as newcomers to the Arctic, isolated, often depressed, and with personal worries—varied markedly in their moods and approaches. Almost all Eskimo informants have said to the writer that the only thing an Eskimo knows for sure about White people is that you can never be sure of them. Even the steadiest White men, they say, sooner or later leave the North. The very real communication barrier, at both levels, language and cultural sensitivity—along with all of the seeming and real inconsistencies of the White people, added to by the aggressiveness of manner and speech of many, and most of all the very real power they had over the economic lives of the Eskimo people—all combined to create anxiety for the majority of the Eskimo in the acculturation situation.[1]

Life Orientation and Future Uncertainties

Traditionally the Eskimo had no habit of long-term future planning. It has been explained why, in previous sections, but it should be noted that while long-term planning

[1] For many inland Eskimo, the acculturated coastal people seemed hardly less aggressive and strange than the Whites, particularly where their life-styles and mannerisms seemed similar. Thus even relations between Eskimo groups and individuals were also sources of anxiety.

was meaningless where weather and game and dangers were an unalterable element in the life, the experience in the settlement situation with "high" and regular income and new and valuable skills acquired—provided growing evidence that hardship and premature death is not inevitable. The improved living conditions and the health, education, and retail facilities all combined to motivate the majority of the Rankin Inlet Eskimo population toward a way of life which would perpetuate the enjoyment of such advantages. At the same time, the Mine Management, the Missionaries, the teachers and the Area Administrator of the time, were all taking every opportunity to exhort the Eskimo to think ahead, to plan for their own vocational training or the education of their children, to save their money, and generally to lift their mental horizons above the immediate present and the immediate future, and to face up to the prospects of the distant future. At this point the Eskimo were moved to ask about the future of Rankin Inlet and were told that the life of the Nickel Mine was predictably short and that nobody had any idea of what would happen after it was closed. Many of the Eskimo who had worked in the Mine for more than two or three years had relinquished their dog-teams, disposed of their skin clothing, and indeed of some of the weapons they needed for the hunt. Relatively few, as the next section will show, were prepared emotionally or materially for a return to iglu life on the sparse hunting grounds of Keewatin. Having been motivated to consider the future seriously, most of the Eskimo of Rankin Inlet could only then find in it an extra source of anxiety.

Drinking

Considering the extent of the strains which the Eskimo in the Rankin Inlet acculturation situation have been undergoing, and realising that traditionally and historically the Eskimo had no alcoholic beverages and no access to them, and therefore in most cases a very low tolerance to intoxicants, it might well be expected that drinking among the Eskimo people, once potables became available, would become a serious problem. In point of fact, though drunkenness occurred, (and not-infrequently in the case of a few "problem" individuals during the life of the Mine), and though beer still represented something of a drain on the limited incomes of the Rankin Inlet population—it could not—have been said, during the report period, that there was a serious "drinking problem" in Rankin Inlet. During the six years in which the Eskimo were in any large number involved in the Mine operation, Eskimo were involved in a total of nine court cases where drinking charges were laid. Since the Mine closed, and in the era of Territorial Government responsibility, emphasis of policy was on "liberatisation", maximal tax revenue, and minimal expenditure on alchohol education, until 1972, when drinking

problems in Rankin had reached the point where a new approach was considered long overdue by many leading citizens.[1]

The Eskimo who regularly patronised the Mine-run beer hall, which was open for six nights a week for four hours, were a notably consistent and regular segment of the population. They comprised some sixty-five percent of the Eskimo male population (women, except on rare occasions, were banned), there were about ten percent who patronised the outlet on an average of no more than three or four times a month, and twenty-five percent who, on a point of principle usually never went near the beer hall. The Mine Management realised that its southern-recruited hard-rock miners would never stay on the site if they were not able to follow the habits of a life-time, and the beer hall was considered a necessity, but because the Management did not want there to be sufficiently high consumption that men would be impaired or unable to go on the job, a regulation existed whereby all patrons were limited to the consumption of six cans per night. For a time the Mine attempted to limit the consumption of Eskimos to four cans, while permitting an extra two cans to be consumed by White men. This ruling was set aside during the last two years of the operation, and in fact the whole system was very loosely adhered to. The young Hudson's Bay Company employees taking the beer round to the crowded tables were in no way able to keep a strict count on every individual, and anyone who really wanted to had little difficulty in exceeding the formal limit.

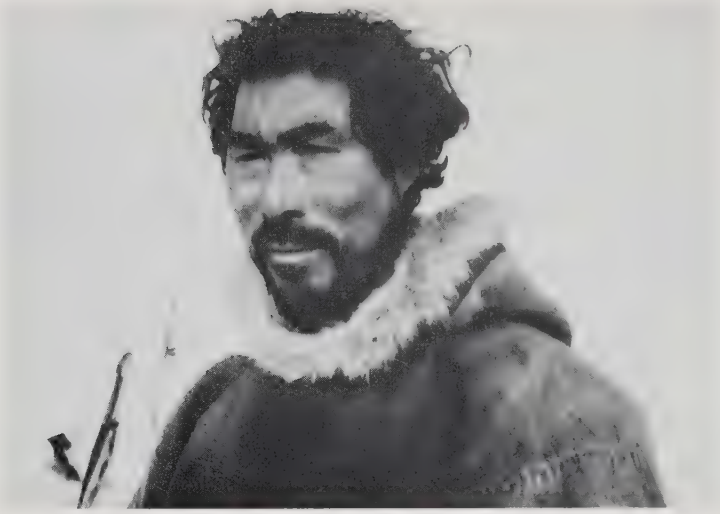
Two Eskimo men acquired reputations as consistently-heavy drinkers, exhibiting a fairly regular pattern of going home inebriated. Only twice did the most prominent drinker of this pair cause any serious disturbance, on both occasions by going around many of the houses and knocking at the doors. From Spring 1960 to October 1962, the writer recorded a total of seven fights involving young inebriated Eskimo men. In the same period there were two incidents where women complained of rough treatment by their husbands when drunk, and in one case a Police complaint was made, but no charge laid.

Nevertheless, drinking became a source of anxiety in the Eskimo population. Interviews with almost all of the adult female population, (sixty-nine individuals) produced striking uninimity in the fears they expressed about their menfolk drinking. They said they were afraid that the men may want to drink more, and that the drinking represented a serious drain on the family income. Many of the regular men spent between a dollar-sixty and two dollars per night on beer, and the financial concern was a genuine

[1] A well-subsidized alchohol education committee is now active in the settlement, (started in the summer, 1972), and has been effective, with Government support, in slowing down the disintegrative effects of widespread drunkenness.

Earlier Thule Culture people in Keewatin used stone features such as these, (at Silumiut), in association with their dwellings.

View of modern construction, (the North Rankin Nickel Mine buildings)—looking west from the harbour at low tide.



A Pelly Bay man who stayed behind, continuing hunting and iglu life, when kinsmen moved to Rankin Inlet.

A Rankin Inlet example of cultural sharing.

one. More than three-quarters of the women said that they and their children had been alarmed on more than one occasion by the head of the household coming home out of control, though only seven women said that when drunk their husbands became bad-tempered. Of much greater concern to most of the women was the fear that their menfolk might fall down when drunk and freeze to death. There was one instance of an Igloolik man who wandered around all night, when drunk, during a mild blizzard, unable to find his way home, and who finally fell down a twelve-foot snowbank, a sobering experience which sent him hurrying to his dwelling with frozen hands and a frost-bitten face. Five of the women informants, while deploring the dangers and anxieties created by the beer hall, said that they wished they could go there too. The Mine Management, on a few isolated occasions, did admit women with their husbands to the beer hall, but in all but two instances, of the few women that went on the most notable occasion, no more than seven were of any restraining influence upon their husbands, and in fact, being less accustomed to the beer, became more problematical themselves.

Toward the end of the life of the Mine, when it was becoming obvious that opportunities to continue earning regular wages would be very limited in the near future, and thus saving was desirable—a dozen men out of sixty interviewed evinced anxiety about their inability to stay away from the beer parlour. Discussions and sermonisings among the Eskimo themselves on the subject of drinking were not infrequent, and public "confessions" and repudiations of drinking often occurred at settlement meetings. So, while it can be stated that the incidence of serious drinking problems among the Rankin Inlet Eskimo population during the report period was not high, the whole problem of drinking was a source of anxiety to the people.

CHAPTER IX

Adjustments to Industrial Decline

Adaptation and Planning Survey

During the winter of 1961–62 the writer conducted a questionnaire survey among the families of the Mine-employed Eskimo, as part of a plan for ascertaining some indices of acculturation, some indication of the future plans of the families, and to arrive at some assessment of how realistic were the plans of most of the individuals in relation to their actual potentiality. The author took the opportunity to acquire as much supportive information as was obtainable at the time, and recorded sufficient information as to provide material for a rather more than can enter the scope of this present narrative. Detailed geneologies relative to each respondent were drawn up. The vital statistics of all in each family interviewed were recorded, and biographical information covering the individual's place of origin and his life before entering wage employment—was recorded. Also documented was the history of all forms of economic activity, including employment histories, where applicable, before migration to Rankin Inlet; and the factors which impelled migration to Rankin Inlet were documented. From the time of arrival in Rankin Inlet, the individual's work history was documented, covering the type of job undertaken, for how long, and the rates paid. Respondents answered questions on job-preferences and the reasons, gave details of specialised training where applicable; and the circumstances, where applicable, of dismissal and hiring. All the reasonably possible modes of existence following the close-down of the Mine were considered and the preferences of the individual and his family recorded. Possibilities rejected and the reasons for rejection were also documented. The views of a male respondant's wife were recorded, and the significance of family connections in the making of future plans was taken into consideration. Preferences for possible vocational training were recorded. Another part of the survey documented housing conditions, by family dwelling. Knowledge of English of both husband and wife was documented; and note taken also of the extent of hospital or sanitorium experience of both partners. The retention, since Mine employment, of such equipment as dog teams, harpoons and guns, was recorded, and documentation undertaken of the ownership of such domestic capital goods as refrigerators, washing machines, beds, record players and radios. This information stood against basic dating of length of residence, employment, and variations in residence and work.

In one part of the survey fifty-nine men were interviewed. All were Mine employees.

One set of questions which had been developed from earlier research and full assessment of all of the possibilities—was designed to elicit the first preferences of the respondents for their way of life after the Mine had closed down. In the simplest form the response could be tabulated thus:

First Choice:	Return to place of origin	3 to Eskimo Point 1 to Baker Lake 1 to Perry River
	Stay at Rankin Inlet and hunt	1
	Vocational Training	5
	Work in other northern mines	1
	Move to Churchill	1
	Move to a hunting community	3 (to Whale Cove)
	Stay at Rankin Inlet and work (if work created)	42
	No choices	1

The respondent who was unable to make any choices was a Baker Lake man who said that as usual he would do the right thing and do whatever the White man told him to do, that he quite genuinely had no preferences and he would be happy with whatever he was told would be best for him.[1]

As a result of these interviews, wherein a number of respondents had equal preferences, an overlapping tabulation was attempted, aided by the fact that most of the respondents, though in most cases quite firmly sure about their first choice, did not want to discount other possibilities, but at the same time were in most cases very emphatic about what they did *not* want to do. For example, fifty-four out of the fifty-nine respondents were quite emphatic about rejecting Churchill as a place to work and live as their first choice, as among many of the Keewatin Eskimo, Churchill has an evil reputation for drunkenness and sexual licence among both the Whites and the aboriginal population, and of labour difficulties and racial prejudice. Tabulation of the wider approach to possible preferences, taking in secondary and tertiary choices, was as follows:

Return to Place of Origin	15	Work in southern Canada	10
Stay at Rankin Inlet and hunt	5	Work in Churchill	22
Vocational Training	13	Move to a hunting community	15
Vocational training only if there is no work	10	Move to a hunting community only if there is no work	8
Work in Ungava or other northern mines	30	Stay at Rankin Inlet and work	50

[1] Rapport and trust with this man were good. He was totally conditioned by two generations of heavy white control, and he earnestly meant what he said.

Once again it will be noted that the emphasis on the preference for wage employment is very heavy. At the time of this survey, only four respondents had had more than five years of regular wage employment, three of these as mission servants at Chesterfield Inlet, one as a Hudson's Bay Post servant, and one as a Doctor's interpreter at Chesterfield Inlet.

At the time of the survey both the field officers of the Department of Northern Affairs and the local population had been encouraged to believe that the Government would take extensive steps to take up the economic slack and provide alternative work when the Mine closed down. In fact nothing was done, (for over a year, until it became evident that the post-factum "phasing out" plan set forth after the close-down by the Ottawa administration—was not going to work). A short-lived and quite abortive trapping project, during the very severe and fur-less winter following the close-down of the Mine, was attempted by the Government. A rather earnest effort, costing $10 000 —produced one fox. In fact, when the Mine closed, the Government actually cut down rather than extended its Eskimo labour force. During the life of the Mine all of the very extensive plumbing, steam-fitting and stove work had been undertaken by a local Eskimo man and one assistant, trained by the Mine. Similarly all of the carpentry work was entirely in the hands of two Eskimo carpenters, with occasional extra help. When the Government took over the technical functions which had been performed, under the Mine, by the local Eskimo, White men were brought in from the south and the Eskimo men became unemployed, and within two or three months were recipients of Social Assistance, with the exception of the plumber who was retained as plumber's labourer for the White man brought in by the Department of Northern Affairs.

It is of interest to follow the lives of these respondents following the close-down of the Mine, to discover how closely their actual life patterns followed the aspirations they evinced during the 1961–62 survey, but such coverage in detail is unfortunately beyond the scope of this report. Briefly it might be mentioned, however, that during the succeeding years, three Mine employees went to work on the DEW Line (a fourth went but returned after a few months), and nine Rankin men went to work on the development of the Asbestos Hill Mine operation in Northern Ungava,[1] but returned when that operation was closed down. A total of seven men, four of whom were with the Asbestos Hill party earlier, and one of whom returned to Rankin Inlet after a year—went to work in mining at Lynn Lake, Manitoba. A total of nine men were recruited by various gold mines in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, and all but three settled there in steady employment, for several years. Three Rankin Inlet Mine employees were recruited to work in the Mine in Tungsten in the Yukon, where they spent most of a winter, re-

[1] Following J. A. Easton, who personally came back to Rankin Inlet to recruit them.

turning shortly before that Mine was closed down. Seventy-five percent of the Mine employees said that they would go to work where-ever "Andy" Easton, the Mine Manager, went, if he would take them. With the exception of two individuals, reports in autumn, 1965, of the Eskimo miners both in Yellowknife and Lynn Lake—spoke very highly of their performance on the job—but stated that almost all of them were still encountering serious housing and financial difficulties, and were making very little progress in the personal organisation of their finances.

For over a year-and-a-half after the close-down of the Mine, the Hudson's Bay Company was in fact employing more Eskimo labour steadily (four)—than the Department of Northern Affairs. There were seasonal variations in the employment of casual labour by the Department of Northern Affairs, but in the Spring of 1965, the Department had seven Eskimo men on the permanent payroll, plus two other men of Labrador origin. A third man of Labrador origin, an R.C.M.P. servant-pensioner, was also added subsequently. The Eskimo Handicrafts and Art Project begun in the early summer of 1963 provided steady employment for two Eskimo girls and an original group of nine men involved in the Ceramics Project grew to twenty. The men who worked steadily in the ceramics room could earn as much as forty dollars a week. A number of them spent part of their time in ceramics and carving work and part out hunting and fishing. Including the women who bring in sewing, the handicraft project involved about a hundred people in the Rankin Inlet population, and brought forth a regular total monthly income for the community of about five thousand dollars. Department of Northern Affairs policy at that time did not permit the amount paid out to exceed that figure, and a more recent administration radically reduced the amount.

"*Relief*." Social Assistance figures remained quite significant in Rankin Inlet. In the winter of 1962–63, when income was lowest and the dependent population highest—monthly Social Assistance totals rose in December, January and February to ten thousand dollars, thus averaging a monthly food relief allowance of 25 dollars per person per month. In the early Spring of 1963 Social Assistance amounts were reduced. This was achieved first by the executive decision of the Area Administrator of the time, who addressing this writer—stated of the Eskimos that: "These bastards should live off the land or starve". There was also a slow rise in income through the ceramics and handicrafts work, a few short periods when the hunting and trapping were slightly better, and subsequently a very dramatic and unprecedented rise in the price of sealskins, (which the Hudson's Bay Company had for many years bought for an average price of four dollars). They were being purchased during this one-year period (May 1963–May 1964) —for as much as twenty-five to twenty-eight dollars. Understandably, the "Relief" totals were also reduced by a steady out-migration from the settlement. By the sum-

mer of 1964, the Eskimo population of Rankin Inlet had declined to two hundred and sixty. Later it began to rise again, through natural growth and by families moving into the settlement, and by the end of the period of this report, reached a total of three hundred and twenty.

In the Spring of 1965, there were forty-one heads of family who had in recent months received Social Assistance or were considered potential recipients. The number of people receiving Social Assistance varied, in fact, from twenty-five to forty people in mid-winter, and down to fifteen to twenty in the three months of the spring and summer period. Thus Government expenditures in Social Assistance in 1965 were averaging around the thousand dollars per month. It should be pointed out here that all of these figures for Social Assistance are based on calculations using the publicly-known rates, and from personal knowledge of all of the families involved. Detailed individual figures from the Department of Northern Affairs were not available because, as a point of principle, out of respect to the recipients, Social Assistance figures are considered by policy confidential. It is equally important to make clear that even the figures which are kept internally by the Department of Northern Affairs designated as Social Assistance, do not by any means fully reflect the total actual cost of supporting Eskimo receiving Social Assistance or without full resources for complete self-sufficiency. The figures which were designated as being chargeable to Social Assistance funds were based only on the costs of food and clothing issued. It has already been made clear however that fuel oil was an extremely important, heavily-consumed, and not-inexpensive item. The fuel oil issued to people unable to support themselves was not charged to the Social Assistance accounts, nor were the costs of providing electricity to eighty-five percent of the houses, nor the costs of the theoretical rents for the houses, nor depreciation and maintenance on these houses. Thus if all of these hidden, or not-formally-recognized subsidies were included, for the actual Government cost of supporting people with insufficient resources for self-sustenance, the figure can virtually be almost doubled.[1]

During the exceptionally severe winter of 1962–63, following the Autumn close-down of the Mine, when the winter weather was unusually severe, and game virtually non-existent, and very little employment indeed, a population of some four hundred

[1] Maximum allowable Social Assistance rates:

Adults $35.00 per month
Children: 11 to 16 yrs $30.00 per month
Children: 5 to 11 yrs $25.00 per month
Children: infant to 5 yrs $20.00 per month

Deductions were made from this by the Area Administrator for every form of small income the applicant made, from handicrafts, casual labour, or sale of fur, and further deductions were made according to an arbitrary estimate made of the amount of game which the applicant had hunted.

Eskimo was receiving some Social Assistance. The maximal outlay of some ten thousand dollars for this purpose during that period was not considered confidential by the Area Administrator of the time, and exaggerated legends concerning the way in which the Eskimo were being over-indulged were a frequent topic of conversation among the White people of the settlement. In point of fact, the average food allowance per person per month never exceeded twenty-five dollars, and the average clothing issuance never exceeded one dollar per person per month. For example, by January of 1962, the Mine was already cutting down on its labour force, with an estimated eight months to go before close-down. In addition to those heads of family who were no longer employed by the Mine, there were still some thirty families who were part of the population of Itivia, and segments of other groups who had migrated toward Rankin Inlet in the hope of finding employment. In that month a total of thirty-six families, representing a hundred and eighty-three mouths to be fed, received some degree of Social Assistance, though very few to the maximal allowable amount. Of those who received maximal amounts, six family heads were widows, three were headed by women whose husbands were in hospital or sanitorium, one was headed by a man totally blind, and half a dozen were people permanently incapacitated by histories of tuberculosis and other diseases. Ten more were men who had lost the capacity to earn more temporarily, due to infection in one of the four epidemics which went through the settlement that winter. Actually, food issued on Social Assistance in that winter month, (January, 1962) totalled two thousand two hundred and forty-three dollars, and clothing issued totalled thirty-eight dollars and eighty-seven cents. Thus the average food issuance for that month was twelve dollars and twenty-six cents, and the average clothing issue was twenty-one cents. The writer wishes to respect the confidentiality accorded the individual recipients of Social Assistance, as did the Department of Northern Affairs—very properly—and therefore no information is recorded here which could not be available in the published Annual Reports of the Canadian Government. These average figures documented in 1962 reflect, however, the pattern of Social Assistance issuance, though in fact issuances were reduced below those levels, during one period, quite radically, after the Spring of 1963. While these figures therefore demonstrate that the Social Assistance issuances to Rankin Inlet Eskimo were by no means excessive, particularly when consideration is given to the higher Arctic cost of living, it should be pointed out that there was, by 1965, a significant part of the Rankin Inlet population which had become over almost three years to some degree habituated to life "on Relief".

CHAPTER X

Social Relations

Dialect Groups

The Rankin Inlet population has been made up of fragments of no less than eight dialect groups and sub-groups. For the purposes of this present discussion, however, it is necessary to divide the Rankin population into four major groups, the Avviamiut and the Ahiamiut who came to Rankin by way of Eskimo Point, the Qairnirmiut from the Chesterfield Inlet area, the Aivilimiut from Repulse Bay, and the Kamanituamiut from the Baker Lake Area and Uqusissalimmiut from the Garry Lake–Back's River Area. All of the migrants from Coral Harbour were either Aivilimiut or Qairnirmiut who had lived on Southampton Island but were related to the mainland groups. There is material here for considerable detail, but for the purposes of this brief narrative it is necessary principally to give emphasis to the fact of strong in-group orientation, and relatively slow movement among all of the Eskimo in the settlement toward any sense of community.

Until the winters of 1963–'64 and 1964–'65, visiting patterns and exchanges of goods and services were almost exclusively limited to inter-actions within the dialect sub-groups. In that period, the school children, but not the pre-school children, had begun a trend away from this exclusiveness of visiting patterns and play groups, though even yet the tendency is still stronger for children to play with those to whom they are related, or with those who belong to the same dialect group. For the first time, in the winter of 1964–65, there were informal hunting groups going out together from Rankin Inlet made up of people of different dialect sub-groups. There has always been a closer relationship between the Aivilimiut and the Qairnirmiut, but during that winter, hunters went out repeatedly in parties comprising members of these two major groups but also including Uqusissalimiut and Ahiamiut men. Though adoption is a frequent occurence among all of the Eskimo in Rankin Inlet, the writer had records of only two adoptions during the report period, occuring from outside of the adoptive parents' group.

Of the twenty-six marriages which have occurred in Rankin Inlet between 1957 and Summer 1965, only one took place between people of different dialect groups. Residence patterns in the Eskimo village were to a significant extent dependent upon the way in which housing was assigned by the agency responsible for the construction and the

renting of the dwellings, and to a certain extent has been affected by availability of houses. Most Eskimo residents were happy to take occupancy of any vacant house, where-ever located, but a vague and not completely definitive or exclusive pattern of dialect group location may be discerned. This was most clear in the late 'fifties and early 'sixties, when houses were put up in fairly large numbers at the same time, and family groups took occupancy in waves, and were able, to some extent, to exercise a degree of choice of location. Thus it was possible to discern the largest amount of Qairnirmiut and Aivilimiut occupation in the houses nearest to the agency area, in other words, the shortest distance to the store, the church, the school, and the places of work. The most strategically located house, at the nearest corner, was the residence of the Qairnirmiut Eskimo Mine foreman. Of the fourteen larger, three-room, Mine-built residences which formed this central block, only one was occupied by an Avviamiut. Most of the Avviamiut residences were the smaller rigid-frame and shack-type dwellings, gathered at the far southern end of the Eskimo village farthest away from the agency area, and from the lake where the Eskimo went for ice and water until the single tap outlet house was built in 1961. Most of the Kamanituamiut (Baker Lake people) and the Uqusissalimiut were to be found in the houses on the far western side of the Eskimo village.

Reference has already been made to the sense of hierarchy in which the Keewatin people arranged themselves by dialect groups, with the Aivilimiut and Qairnirmiut considered to be the most able people, the Baker Lake area people less so, and the south Keewatin people rated lowest. Reference has also been made to the influence of the Qairnirmiut Eskimo foreman, upon whom the Mine Management depended very heavily for interpretation, and even for evaluation of potential worth of individual Eskimo people. Thus it was only in the last year-and-a-half of the life of the Mine, that Padlirmiut began to find their way, in small numbers, into the higher-prestige and better-paid jobs, although there were such exceptions as the one Avviamiut heavy-equipment operator and a very industrious man with some knowledge of English from Fort Chimo. It can be said, however, that all of the diamond drillers, seventy-five per cent of the muckers, all of the men involved in carpentry, plumbing, and electrical work, and all but one of the heavy-equipment operators, were either Qairnirmiut or Aivilimiut. In 1960 and 1961, all but two of the Mill hands were either Baker Lake or Eskimo Point people, and the large and steady nucleus of the surface labourers were Avviamiut and Kamanituamiut. Cookhouse and bunkhouse help were usually drawn from these same groups. The White Mine employees tended to accept the value judgements of the Qairnirmiut Eskimo foreman and the other prominent Eskimo employees from the same group, to the point of expressing surprise when individuals of the low-valued groups performed well. Where such instances were observed, individual members of the low-valued groups did achieve advancement, as for example the Uqusissalimmiut man

who became a steady plumber's labourer. A year after the Mine at Rankin was closed, government employment representative from Yellowknife, uninfluenced by the local Rankin values and working only on performance statistics and through an Eskimo-speaking White man trained to objectivity, came to recruit an initial group of Rankin Eskimo Miners to work in Yellowknife. Selection was critical, as on their performance would depend the willingness of their employers to offer work-opportunities to more Rankin people. Out of the first six to be selected, one was an Avviamiut and one was an Ahiamiut. The number of members of these groups proportionate to the entire population—has already been noted.

Dialect group differentiation was also observable at times of recreation among the Rankin Inlet Eskimo. Groups around the beer hall tables usually reflected dialect group patterns, although men who were work-mates and belonged to different groups, for example the Avviamiut heavy equipment operator and his Aivilimiut work-mates—were occasionally seen drinking together. A favourite Eskimo community recreation is the Eskimo-style square dance, for which the large school building was usually used. Here, dialect group affinities were strongly reflected in the formation of the squares. During their first two or three years in Rankin Inlet indeed, about half of the Avviamiut, who always attended the dances, rarely danced themselves, but stayed by the walls watching, and most of the Ahiamiut would stay at the doorway, looking in. Even at the twice-weekly movie shows, the pattern was for the Aivilimiut and Qairnirmiut to go straight into the hall and to occupy the most favoured seats, while the inland people waited outside in most cases until the lights were turned down, after which they would foregather at the back, while again the most withdrawn Ahiamiut people looked in through the door or even through the windows from the outside. During the last two winters of the present report period, these patterns became much less marked. In 1963 an Uqusissalimiut patriarch was elected to the settlement Eskimo Council, but throughout his incumbency he rarely spoke more than a sentence of assent to what has been said by the other Councillors in any public meeting. Before his election, all of the Eskimo Councillors were Qairnirmiut. By the middle 'sixties inland people were attending all recreational and public meeting functions with decreasing restraint, and though participating with a greater degree of modesty than the Qairnirmiut and Aivilimiut, now evinced of sense of inclusion and committment. This is demonstrated by their invariable attendence, their selection of strategic locations in the hall for seating, by the increasingly involved type of conversation which went on among themselves, and with other non-group affliated members of the community, and by an increasing number of instances, still markedly less than among the northern groups, however—when a public expression of personal views was offered. It should be mentioned that most of the statements made by inland people in public meetings, and indeed a large number of

those made by the northern coast people, were matters which were essentially of personal concern to themselves and to their immediate families, and most usually involved their relationship with the Government, but there does appear to be an inherent assumption that these statements are, to some extent, part of the settlement situation, and therefore of interest to people other than themselves and their immediate group.

In the matter of social distinctions made by the Mine staff, some reference has already been made to the way in which jobs and housing tended to be apportioned according to the Eskimo value ratings of the various dialect groups. Though the influence of the opinions of the Qairnirmiut "straw boss" was particularly significant in these matters, it is interesting to note that many of the White Mine employees adopted similar hierarchical attitudes, approximating closely to those held by the Eskimo themselves. In many cases, the White men quoted as authorities their own Eskimo work-mates or the Eskimo "straw boss" himself, in backing up "their" opinions of the relative merits of Eskimo from the various dialect groups. One of the signs of Arctic expertise among the long-term residents of the bunkhouse was the ability to deliver such frequently-used phrases as: "I've got more time for the Repulse Bay bunch than the Eskimo Point bunch. Your Repulse Bay man is a better type of Eskimo than the ones from around Eskimo Point".[1]

Setting the value judgment aside, it can be said that many of the present products of the inland groups are the descendants of people who have undergone a great deal more undernourishment, for several generations, than the northeast coastal people. Many of the present adults are people who have been undernourished from infancy, born of mothers who were undernourished during their pregnancy, mothers who themselves have had similar life histories. Moreover, the inland people appear, for several generations, to have comprised smaller total dialect groups than the coastal people, and though observing the traditional taboos against unions between the people of closest blood kin, have tended to marry among people more closely-related to them than has been the case among the larger coastal groups where the marriage market has been wider. Thus indeed, though there are slow and self-effacing people among the northern coastal people, and aggressive individuals among the inland people, there is a larger proportion of the coastal people who are relatively more aggressive, vigorous, and responsive across group lines, while the larger proportion of the inland people tend to be somewhat more withdrawn, less forceful, and less responsive. The more lengthily-observed tendency of so many of these people over the years to persist when they have found a good métier ultimately to the point of quiet but notable success, both in work, social relations and

[1] Vallee has labelled the more sophisticated, "informed" and pretentious conversations of this kind—"Miutmanship" (Personal communication).

cultural expression—does indicate a presence of certain strengths in their midst that many outsiders have under-estimated.

Eskimo and White Social Relations

It may be appropriate at this moment to explain again the writer's use of the term "White" in preference to the persistent use of such terms, now popular in the literature, as "Euro-Canadian", "Euro-American" and similar cumbersome types of terminology. Where valid, it is being attempted here to see the situation from within the Eskimo society, and from that point of view, the use of the term "White," with its very widespread historical under-tone of racial distinction—is quite valid. Relatively few Eskimo in the Eastern Arctic discriminate between nationalities, and normally designate all non-mongoloid, non-negroid people by the one term, "Kabluna" which carries the connotations evoked generally by the English word "white". "Kabluna" actually, by literal translation—refers to the eyebrows, and Vallee[1] has quite validly and imaginatively, used this word rather than the term "White", but for the English-speaking reader its connotations do not have quite the same edge as the word "White".

It is felt necessary to raise this question of terminology in the context of social relations, in that, with very few exceptions indeed, the tendency is for Keewatin Eskimo to relate with White people, however friendly, as a racial socio-cultural category first, and secondarily as individual personalities. This generalisation may be equally applied in a very large majority of cases to the White people in the Arctic as they relate with the Eskimo. Certainly many Eskimo are now conscious of a language distinction, (also usually associated in their minds with religion)—between the English and the French, and some groups use the term "kabluna" only in reference to English-speaking people. Many of the younger adults know that the White people divide themselves up as Canadians, Americans, Germans or Russians, and even know of the distinction between the English and the Scotch, but in the minds of most Eskimo, these distinctions refer only to place of origin, and are of very minor significance. At the same time, several of the more articulate older informants with whom the researcher has talked in recent years, have said that they feel more sure of the White people who have come across from the other side of the great sea. This may be no more than a reflection of the fact that until well into the 'sixties the majority of the White people with whom they related in the Arctic, (Hudson's Bay Co. men and missionaries)—came either from the British Isles, France and Belgium, or Newfoundland. The writer felt that they were speaking

[1] Vallee, F. G.: *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Arctic*. N. C. R. C. Ottawa, 1962, and as *Kabloona and Eskimo*, St. Paul's University, Ottawa 1964.

in terms of comfort derived from predictability based on familiarity, not necessarily on basic human qualities.

Equally, this leads us to consider again to the historical conditioning of Eskimo attitudes toward the Whites as a result of the contacts and relationships which were briefly described earlier. In summary, the total impression that the White people have very firmly established in the minds of the Keewatin Eskimo, is that of a race with enormous resources, and literally incredible technological skill, all of which create an attitude of initial respect, caution, and reserve. These attitudes are of course by no means so readily found amongst the knowledgable and sophisticated people of the younger generation

All of the Eskimo residents of Rankin Inlet are the products of environments in which the ascendency and sense of superiority of the White people had been accepted as a fact of life by all of the established Whites and by a large number of the Eskimo themselves. It was common for both traders and missionaries to refer to the Eskimo as "having the minds of children", and the normal term for the Eskimo was "the natives", with all of the traditional colonialistic connotations. It was still not uncommon in the 'sixties, in the official reports of the R.C.M.P., for a man to be described as a "male native" and a little girl as a "juvenile native female". Particularly among the populations of Baker Lake and Eskimo Point, it had become normal for Eskimo to apparently and often genuinely accept the will of any White authority with no overt resistance and even very little covert resistance. Seven of the family heads from Baker Lake, interviewed in Rankin Inlet in 1961, said that they had come, not because they wanted to, but because the Government man had told them to.

The majority of the White men employed by the Mine who first confronted the Eskimo on their arrival at Rankin Inlet were very different from the White people with whom they had for so long been relating in the historical settlements. Against the advice of many of his colleagues at the Mine site, and the doubts of his Head Office superiors, J. A. Easton insisted as Manager on the use of Eskimo as an economically feasible local labour resource. Unlike the White man in the fur-trade settlements, the White man at Rankin did not want the products of their traditional skills, in hunting and trapping. They did not want their religious devotion, and they did not care profoundly about the legality or morality of their behaviour, as long as it did not interfere with the job. In other words, they differed markedly from the historical powers, the traders, the missions and the R.C.M.P. Many of the non-executive staff Mine employees evinced resentment of the Eskimo as a threat to their own employment, and the Mine Manager, (Easton) complained of having to deal with constant dissatisfaction expressed by the various White foremen at having to deal with people with whom they could not communicate easily in their own language. Not a few of the White Mine employees were European

immigrants whose comprehension of English was often no greater than that of the Eskimo, but they did not arouse the same volume of complaint. In fact, the communication difficulty was not the real problem, as the White men who were culturally and technically adapted to the work habits of the Mine could manage with minimal communication. Many of the White miners and foremen responded to their frustrations in working with the Eskimo by raising their voices when they spoke to the Eskimo, and by the occasional use of derision. These were two forms of behaviour to which the Eskimo were particularly sensitive, and very few of the Eskimo remember their first months in Mine employment with any happiness.

The performance of the Eskimo in the Mine was also impaired by their living conditions. While White men off shift could sleep comfortably, (having been extremely well fed), in two-bed bunkhouse rooms, the Eskimo employed by the Mine during the first two years often returned fatigued and debilitated to their shifts, insufficiently nourished by the foods that they bought in the store, and insufficiently rested after trying to sleep in tents and shacks, surrounded by many other members of the family and visitors. Housing conditions were relatively improved by the establishment of the "Eskimo village" in 1958, but most of the dwellings were too small and too crowded to permit the Mine shift-workers isolation and proper rest.

By 1960, the White Mine employees contained a nucleus of men who had successfully adjusted to working with the Eskimo, and a few who had actually formed affable but not very committal friendships with their Eskimo work-mates. Other than on the job, quite tangible segregation was the rule, and though there were exceptions, they were few. The Mine Manager exerted a very firm, benevolent but very paternalistic authority over the Eskimo, and indeed over the whole of the settlement.

Shortly after the beginning of the employment of Eskimo by the Mine, the Management established dining facilities which would provide mid-shift sustenance to the Eskimo workers, but a separate Eskimo dining room was set up for this purpose, and the food served, though plentiful, was cheaper and of much greater simplicity than the sumptuous fare provided in the White men's dining hall. The wide and calculated distance established between the Eskimo residence area and the Mine area—has already been described. Segregation was no less firm in the social life of the settlement. In the beer hall, the Eskimo always sat on the east side of the room and the White men on the west side. Only one man, the Mine radio operator, made a point of drinking with the Eskimo in the beer hall, and he was regarded as a bizarre eccentric. Occasional demonstrations of inebriated *camaraderie* did occasionally occur, and it is noteworthy that these were usually initiated by a White worker; but the normal pattern in the beer hall was demonstrably one of quiet, tacit separation. In that situation, though many Eskimo who had worked for more than two or three years in the Mine had acquired a working

knowledge of English, mainly for on-the-job purposes, it can be said that to some extent conversational ease in the place of relaxation predicated the pattern of separation.

In other forms of recreation however, segregation was a matter of firm Company rule. Movie showings were strictly segregated. White men were not allowed to attend Eskimo dances, and the R.C.M.P. complied with the Mine Management's wishes that they enforce this ruling. Mine workers were strictly forbidden to visit the Eskimo village, on any account. Any man who was discovered to have been in the village was immediately dismissed without question and sent out on the next available aircraft. Eskimo, particularly women, were forbidden to visit in the bunkhouse, and only the Eskimo foreman and his wife and one other favoured couple were normally invited socially into the Mine Manager's home. The Mine staff formed a recreational association, euphemistically known as "The Rankin Inlet Athlectic Club", mainly for the purposes of obtaining a licence from the Territorial Government to operate the beer hall, and to organise occasional parties and celebrations at which alcoholic potables could be served. Membership in this Association was open to all White members of the community but not to Eskimo. The reason which the Mine Manager held to for this social system, was the need to avert the exploitation of the Eskimo women by the Mine workers. There is no question that many of the bunkhouse-dwellers would have sought sexual liasons with the Eskimo women, and the steady stream of dismissals of men who were caught trying, or suspected of attempting to form such liasons—indicates that there was more interest in such activities than mere talk, of which there was a great deal on the subject in the bunkhouse. All of the other White agencies in the settlement supported this rigid division of the population throughout the life of the Mine until close-down, and for most of the subsequent winter. Nevertheless, there were of course, some individuals who succeeded in circumventing the regulations and making liasons.

It has already been pointed out that the Mine employment policies, which were subject to industrial law, did not make formal pay-rate differentiation according to race. In theory, men of any race were paid the same rates for the same degree of skill. In fact, there was for every job, a graduated pay scale, and though there were many instances where Eskimo men were receiving rates of pay equal to White men doing the same work, there was a tendency for White employees to be started somewhat higher than the bottom level of the scale, and, unless they performed very badly, to rise up the scale quite steadily. Most Eskimo were started at the bottom of the scale for the given job and their rise up the scale tended to be discernibly slower. The Mine justified this by the fact that most of the White men hired already had some experience in mining, often much more than any of the Eskimo, and had a greater knowledge not only of the mechanical procedures of the jobs they undertook, something which the Eskimo themselves learned very quickly, but something more of the theoretical implications, because of

their schooling. This was often but not invariably somewhere near the truth, in certain skill categories.

Only one Eskimo in the life of the Mine ever acquired anything approaching a supervisory position, this being the Eskimo "straw boss"—but though, because of his intermediary position between the Whites and the Eskimo, and his close association with the Mine Manager—he had considerable influence in the affairs of the Mine as they affected the Eskimo, he was in fact more of a message-carrier and interpreter, and was never considered to be on an equal standing with any of the White foreman.

One Mine programme which was of considerable advantage to all of the Rankin Inlet Eskimo, and which engaged the activities of its Mine employees much more with the Eskimos than with the Whites—was the Mine medical service. This was a contributory insurance plan, involving salary deductions of a standard type, and regular contributions by other permanently-employed people in the settlement who were not on the Mine payroll, but the service was also extended to all Eskimo resident within a twenty-mile radius of the Mine, with the cost of services provided to Eskimo who were not able to pay, being charged to the Federal Government. For four years during the life of the Mine, from 1958 until it closed, the Mine committed itself to retaining a qualified medical practitioner in the settlement, assisted by two nurses. The Doctor held daily clinics, undertook most of the gynecological and obstetrical work, and did some house visiting. Treatments outside of the clinic were radically curtailed by the Doctor who replaced the original practitioner in 1961. The Mine made an agreement with the Federal Department of Health that its nurses would be responsible for the further development of a Public Health and home hygiene programme among the Eskimo people, but other than a few very sporadic, very widely-separated, and quite ineffectual visits, the contribution of the Mine nurses in this regard was negligible. Until the Spring of 1959, the medical services available in Rankin Inlet were very inadequate, with very little more than a primitive First-Aid service available, but from that time onwards, the Doctor, though never equipped to his satisfaction, and limited to working in a few small rooms on the ground floor of the bunkhouse—provided medical services to the Eskimo population far in excess of the industrial law which required his presence on the Mine site, and beyond the fee value of the subsidy for his services provided by the Federal Government.

Social Relations among the Whites

During the life of the Mine, the most decisive influence on the community and among the Whites was the Mine, and most notably the very strong personality of the Mine Manager himself. His interest in the community extended far beyond the operation of

the Mine, and he did not hesitate to advise the White members of other agencies concerning their work, particularly insofar as Eskimo affairs were concerned. The Mine Manager had a remarkably intimate knowledge of the family affairs of many of the Eskimo in the community, including those who were not working for the Mine. At the same time, the terms of reference and the training of the Area Administrator—or rather the succession of Area Administrators—were such that they also felt responsible for everything that went on in the community. Meanwhile, the Department of Northern Affairs personnel were in a situation of dependency upon the Mine for many services, not only for regular facilities such as, for some years, electricity, and always the steam and water supply, but also the technical operation of the Department was such that frequent resource had to be made for repair assistance and the provision of supplies. Every Area Administrator in turn was advised in Ottawa to deal with great caution, vigilance, and even suspicion—with the Mine Manager, who had the reputation of being a "shrewd operator". The Government was charged by the Mine for all of the services it received, and the Government personnel constantly complained about the nature and the considerable substance of the charges. Area Administrators constantly said, in a jocular fashion, that the Mine was making more money out of the Government than out of the nickel. At the same time, the Civil Servants were instructed to maintain a friendly and co-operative relationship with the Mine. The result was a situation of guarded hostility, with the Mine Manager usually extremely vocal in his criticisms and expressions of contempt about the Government, while Government personnel evinced, though rarely directly to the Mine Manager himself, feelings of resentment and frustration.

Between the Mine Manager and the Area Administrator of the year 1958–59 when the Government encumbent was a man also of very strong personality and a flair for the dramatic—the hostilities were open and sometimes bitter. One of the sources of conflict was the Eskimo labour market, wherein both sides attempted to recruit away from the other, favoured Eskimo employees. One coup accomplished by the Area Administrator in that era, which aroused strong resentment in the mind of the Mine Manager, was the recruitment away from the Mine of a group who were re-settled at Whale Cove, which was a D.N.A. project which had failed quite dramatically in its initial phases. This move drained off about eighty percent of the Eskimo Mill crew, in a move which the Mine management considered to be retrograde and unwarranted. It may be noted, however, that interviews with these men in Whale Cove some eighteen months after their re-settlement there, indicated that all but two of the men were satisfied with this move.

The Hudson's Bay Company retained as Manager, one individual for a period of six years in Rankin Inlet, covering most of the life of the Mine, and over two years after the

close-down. The Hudson's Bay Company management, both as an organisation which stood to profit considerably from the industry in Rankin Inlet, and as itself a private enterprise organisation, maintained a warm and friendly relationship with the Mine management and shared in the feelings of disrespect and criticism for the Government, essentially for the Department of Northern Affairs. Both agencies based their opinions, in general conversation among their intimates in the community, on a remarkably detailed knowledge of the inside workings of the Department of Northern Affairs, from its Ottawa headquarters down. The frustrations of the local Government personnel were not ameliorated by the fact that the non-Government agencies often appeared to know about the policy developments, personnel changes, and events in the Department, before the local representatives themselves. The Hudson's Bay Company resented the Government policy of bringing in large quantities of food supplies and other goods by ship, for its personnel, rather than trading with the Hudson's Bay Company. The tendency of Government personnel to compare Hudson's Bay Company prices in the Arctic with the prices of food in the south, and in so doing to suggest undue exploitation on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company—never failed to arouse the feelings of the store Manager. The opening of a Department-run and subsidised K.R.P. store at Rankin, (Itivia)—also caused ill feelings.

Both the Catholic and Anglican Missions occupied a somewhat peripheral position in terms of relative influence in the community, and while privately expressing fear that the industrial age was damaging the spiritual strength of their parishioners, co-operated in such ways as organising their services so as to give maximal opportunity for Church attendance to Sunday shift workers. The other agencies habitually took a kindly and tolerant attitude toward the missions, though few of their personnel attended services, except at Christmas-time and at Easter-time. The factor of the industrial situation which most disturbed the missions and aroused their strongest criticism of the Mine, was the growing incidence of habitual drinking among the Eskimo patrons of the Mine beer hall. Usually, however, relationships between most of the Mine personnel, and most of the Government personnel, and the Missions were somewhat neutral, with only two or three individual exceptions among both Mine and Government personnel demonstrating strong feelings for or against the missions. One younger Flemish Priest who spent a year in Rankin Inlet during the Mine era aroused some resentment by his very bitter and consistent attacks on all the other agencies in the settlement and on the Eskimo themselves.

The succession of single R.C.M.P. constables who passed through the settlement succeeded with a remarkable degree of consistency in remaining uninvolved in the basic three-cornered rivalry between the Mine, the Department of Northern Affairs and the Hudson's Bay Company, though one constable tended to sympathise with one

faction among the Department of Northern Affairs employees—the teachers, who, during his period of residence, were more-than-usually at odds with the Area Administrator of the time. A later R.C.M.P. constable became vocally resentful of one Area Administrator who was a somewhat querelous and quarrelsome man, and one who tended to be very openly critical of all other agencies and of the Eskimo themselves. With these two exceptions, the R.C.M.P. Members remained largely unaligned.

With the exception of the Mine Manager, and half-a-dozen senior staff members, and of the Hudson's Bay Company manager, the larger majority of the White population in Rankin Inlet was highly mobile. Thus, though some individuals formed friendly relationships without regard to agency, there was a more notable tendency for the transient White population to take upon themselves the attitudes which typified the agency to which they belonged, concerning the members of other agencies. Long-established northern agencies such as the Hudson's Bay Company, the Missions, and the R.C.M.P., and a self-sufficient private enterprise organisation such as the Mine—all resented the claim made by the succession of Area Administrators to being the senior representatives of the senior White agency in the settlement. The way in which this feeling was communicated, always as a result of the Ottawa training and policy with which the Area Administrators were imbued—depended on the personality of the individual Area Administrator, varying from the young, college-educated man who quietly but firmly insisted with all of the other agencies that: "I must be kept fully informed about everything that goes on here", to the grade-school educated Area Administrator who succeeded him, and who was reported by representatives of each of the other agencies, (and observed by the writer)—to have said, not infrequently, with great vehemence, thumping the desk: "I'm the top dog around here and don't you forget it".

Representatives of the other White agencies responded by pointing out in lengthy detail the instances in which they felt the Department of Northern Affairs had demonstrated inefficiency, incompetence, wastage of public funds, and lack of knowledge and experience. Nevertheless, all representitives usually made gestures of "giving credit where it is due"—toward other agencies, and except where deep strong personal feelings had been aroused, most succeeded in maintaining the social civilities and even some sociability.

Within the Department, it was possible to observe, with only one short-lived exception, a repeated pattern of hostility between the Administrators and the Education staff most notably, and to a lesser degree between the Administrators and other professional members of the Department. Again the source of resentment was usually the claim of the Administration to authority over areas where it was felt they did not have the necessary special knowledge and competence. Further resentment was created in the minds of most of the Administrators by the fact that in many cases the professionals

were more highly paid than the Administrators, though the Administrators are held ultimately responsible for everything. A repeated complaint of the teaching staff was that their recruitment in the south was accompanied by very glowing accounts of the living conditions and the high degree of ready assistance and co-operation which would be available to them from the administration—only to find, on reaching the field, that neither the living conditions nor the physical capability of the Administration to co-operate was a favourable as they had been led to believe. Many teachers left the north after only one or two years, saying that the Administrators are uncooperative, resentful, and truculent, while Administrators stated that the teachers as a group tended to be demanding, incapable to understanding the administrative complexities and problems, too exclusively interested in the school children and nothing else in the northern situation, and socially too closely-knit and esoteric. Detailed analysis and documentation of these trends in social relationships and currents of opinion—is not within the planned scope of brief report, but by this it can be sufficiently realised that the White minority in the Rankin Inlet community was largely impermanent, deeply divided among themselves, and generally unable, because of these factors, to establish any sense of solidarity and committment to the "community". The most significant aspect of this situation has been that at the same time, this small, divided, largely impermanent and uncertain group, have between them had a great deal of responsibility for the lives of the more permanent majority of the Rankin Inlet population, the Eskimo people, (who also have their own internal divisions and incertitudes).

The effect upon the Eskimo people, of the divided and variegated social relationships and attitudes of the White people is worth observing, certainly in greater detail than is permissible at this time. Very few of the Eskimo took upon themselves the agency-oriented loyalties which were often expected of them by their employers. The trend has been for most of the Eskimo to identify themselves most happily with the agency which has accomplished the greatest material benefit for them with the least emotional pressure. During the life of the Mine, the industrial life was considered most attractive by most of the Eskimo, often because earnings were higher and more readily paid by the Mine than by the Government, which suffered from a very long line of communication and correspondence in the processing of pay cheques. Moreover social relationships between the Eskimo workers and many of the White Mine workers tended to be more free-and-easy than between the Eskimo and the more formal, and position-conscious Civil Servants. In the post-Mine period, payment delays and problems continued to occur for Eskimo employees of the Department, but social relationships between the Eskimo and their technical staff workmates gradually became more easy and friendly, (varying of course with personalities involved).

The only strong identifications which the Eskimo of Rankin maintained with the

White agencies were their already-established Church affiliations. One other exception, may, perhaps be mentioned, a development of mainly the more recent period since the close-down of the Mine—and that is the Eskimo staff of the Hudson's Bay Company, which then exceeded the White staff in number. These individuals increasingly evinced a strong sense of loyalty toward the Hudson's Bay Company, in two cases became aggressive salesmen and articulate apologists for the Company, and moreover formed a small social group among themselves, both in their social activities in the village, and in the manner in which they spent a great deal of their spare time off-duty visiting in the Hudson's Bay Company staff quarters, and going on short expeditions during their week-end time off with their non-Eskimo Company colleagues.

During the life of the Mine, though the majority of the Eskimo employees preferred Mine employment to any other form of self-support, they were ready to be critical of Mine pay-rates, and of the double standards demonstrated by many of the Mine employees in the matter of social relations with the Eskimo, reserving the strongest disfavour for those Mine employees who were most overbearing in their way of dealing with the Eskimo. In the small permanent work force of the Department of Northern Affairs, there were none who demonstrated unqualified loyalty to their employer. Most showed readiness, usually in discreet hearing, to criticise the policies of the Department of Northern Affairs in a general manner, particularly with regard to the degree of absentee authority and the difficulties created thereby at the local level. At the same time, almost all Eskimo both publicly and privately made a point of comparing the present with the hardships of the days before the Government was established in this part of the Arctic, saying that the Eskimo people have much to be grateful for in appreciation of the services now provided.

The general effect on most of the Eskimo population of the divisiveness and power rivalries of the White agencies has been a sense of confusion. The writer has received a large number of statements asserting that there are far too many "bosses" among the White people, and that it is very hard to understand how one should relate with them, as so many are at pains to point out the shortcomings of the other bosses, and the relative superiority of their own agency. Eskimo during their first year to two years of contact with this situation tended to articulate feelings of confusion and fear and to withdraw from anything but the most essential involvement with the White people. Among the largest number of those Eskimo who have had longer experience of contact in this situation there is a growing cynicism. The researcher has noted the growing incidence of statements to the effect that it is hard to know much about the intentions of the White people, and that it is better not so become too closely committed to any one individual or group.

It is significant that the one aspect of any White person's behaviour which arouses the

most immediate attention and widespread comment, always of the most favourable nature—is the attempt on the part of any White person to speak the Eskimo language. Other than the missionaries, few White people had, in the history of Rankin Inlet, made any real effort to learn to speak the language, with the exception of one Government employee who had learned the language while employed by the Hudson's Bay Company and another, the ex-Welfare and Rehabilitation Officer, who has already been studying the language for some years before taking up residence in Rankin Inlet. There were three Hudson's Bay Company employees who made some attempt to learn the language, and it may be noted that the Hudson's Bay Company, as a matter of policy, accords higher ratings to employees in terms of their ability to speak the Eskimo language.

Following the close-down of the Mine, the Department of Northern Affairs became the leading agency, without question, in the settlement, and took over the provision of most of the services which had been in the hands of the Mine, (though in some cases replacing Eskimo employees who had been engaged in various technical tasks to the satisfaction of the Mine)—with White men brought from the south.

Of the material required for somewhat more detailed presentation and analysis of social relations and organisation in the Rankin Inlet settlement, it has been decided for the purposes of this limited report, to select only two significant areas of concern, the Eskimo Council and the Community Association.

The Eskimo Council

Since the late 'fifties, it was a policy of the Department of Northern Affairs to encourage the development of Eskimo Councils, by election, in every settlement. Detailed description and analysis of the history of the Rankin Inlet Eskimo Council would be of intense interest and value, but sufficient in scope for a separate report. It must at this time suffice to note that the Council in that era always consisted of five elected members, all of whom, until 1963 were members of the majority Qairnirmiut Chesterfield Inlet group. The composition of the Council remained the same from the first election in 1959, until after the close-down of the Mine. While the Mine was in operation, the Mine Manager did not attempt to conceal the fact that he regarded the Eskimo Council, (through the use of his Eskimo Foreman, who, though not elected was automatically co-opted to the Council), as an instrument of social organisation in the interests of the community as they reflected the interests of the Mine. The Mine Manager was a personality with a strong zest for politics, and a profound interest in everything that went on in the community. The Council met irregularly, and always at the behest

of the Mine Manager, through his Eskimo Foreman, and very usually met in the Mine Manager's house. The Council never met on its own initiative.

Shortly after the normal "in camera" meeting of the Council, a public meeting was called in the Federal Day School, usually set at the hour of six-thirty p.m. The majority of the population would be assembled by seven p.m. and a little after that hour the Eskimo Council filed into the room. They sat in chairs facing the rest of the meeting and waited. Shortly afterwards the Mine Manager would come into the hall, and sit down in one corner of the room behind the Council and facing the rest of the meeting. He would take out a piece of paper and a pencil, apparently to make notes, despite the fact that the proceedings were always entirely in Eskimo, and usually there was no interpreter for him. After a short wait, the Mine Eskimo Foreman would turn his head and receive a nod from the Manager. Upon this signal he would stand up, announce that the Council had met a day or two before and would then state the subject under discussion. The Eskimo Mine Foreman would then embark on a lengthy, heavily moralistic, finger-wagging, and strongly-worded harangue. Usually the subject was concerned with good work habits, punctuality, savings, temperence, maintenance of housing, or village cleanliness, involving garbage, night soil, and domestic hygiene. The Eskimo Foreman's harangue was always followed by a statement from an older man, a Chesterfield Inlet man, once a noted hunter, and always a prominent speaker, spokesman, pillar of the Church, son of a famous *angatquq*, who was himself not without profound knowledge of the old beliefs and skills. This individual never stood up to speak, in contrast to the first speaker, began always to address the meeting after a measured pause, and presented the same subjects with a form of rhetoric which avoided homily, but which explained, uplifted, and inspired in a way which occasionally approached the sublime. When he had finished speaking, often at considerable length, but with the whole of the audience quiet and attentive during his address, each of the other three Councillors would usually offer something very brief and entirely repetitious of what had already been said. There were no minutes, rarely any voting, and the substance of the colloquy usually only reached the official record if the Mine Manager chose to use it in his manipulations of the Government.

After the close-down of the Mine, control of the Eskimo Council came more directly into the hands of the Department of Northern Affairs. Again, and still yet in 1965, the Council meet only at the initiative of the dominant White man, by now the Area Administrator, when he had something to communicate, or something upon which he felt he must consult the populace. In 1964–65, the Area Administrator of the time, with advice from a long-term Eskimo-speaking white resident, began, shortly after his arrival in Rankin Inlet in the Spring of 1964, to organise Council meetings and community meetings on a regular basis every month, and the system continued for some

seven or eight months, but petered out during the winter. Earlier, however, the Area Administrator in charge shortly after the close-down of the Mine made the policy of his Department quite clear with reference to the Eskimo Council. He announced publicly that the Department of Northern Affairs considered that the Eskimo Council was "a creature of the Department of Northern Affairs". Most of the subjects discussed were still of the same nature as those discussed during the life of the Mine, although the Council in 1964 was consulted about the appointment of an Eskimo Community Health Worker, and on the most effective means of aiding the programme for renewable-resource harvesting, then in the hands of a Projects Officer of the Department of Northern Affairs.

The normal municipal services of communities in the south, which would be in the hands of a Village Council, were provided at a minimal level by and supervised by the Department of Northern Affairs, and the opportunity for local Government initiative in this regard did not exist. In late winter 1965, the Department of Northern Affairs instituted a Community Development Fund system whereby, with certain conditions laid down by the Department, money was made available to Eskimo communities for material projects which the residents considered necessary. Control of this fund still remained substantially in the hands of the Government, which would only approve projects with a required ratio of labour and material costs such that the major proportion of the funds would go to the payment of labour. Because of the availability of derelict buildings left behind by the Mine, the Rankin Inlet Community Development Fund was put to use in the establishment of a village bath-house and wash-house, but it is of interest to note that in most communities in Keewatin, because of the stringencies and controls required by the Government, very little of the Community Development Fund in the era was tapped. During the winter of 1964–65, attendance at Eskimo Council Meetings and Community Meetings slightly declined. Indigenous statements recorded by this observer asserted that "the Eskimo do not think it matters whether they say anything or not, because the Government is in charge". Two Councillors took to absenting themselves with increasing frequency from Council and Community meetings, and one Councillor said to the writer that he had much to do to look after his own concerns, and little time left for "playing a talking-game which the Government always wins". It should be noted at the same time that community attendance at public meetings was still very large, involving some ninety percent, on average, of the population in the settlement. The attendance of White people at the Community meetings was usually limited to one or two people, usually one Mounted Policeman, and the other regular attendant being an Eskimo-speaking permanent resident, (i.e. this observer). The interest of the majority of the White community was in the proceedings and activities of the Community Association.

The Community Association

The Community Association was the name for an organisation which ultimately involved all Rankin Inlet residents, who paid a small, one-dollar, annual fee for membership. Essentially it was a settlement recreational association. During the winter and mainly in the spring following the close-down of the Mine, very intense efforts were made by the majority of the residents of Rankin Inlet—both Eskimo and non-Eskimo—to form a Community Association devoted to Public Affairs, Adult Education, Community Development, and local government, as well as recreation. Considerable documentation is available covering the proceedings of the settlement meetings, during which the establishment of such an Association was attempted. The Eskimo people, represented by some half dozen of the more aggressive and articulate residents, (all, with one exception, being Qairnirmiut or Aivilimiut)—very forthrightly stated from the body of the hall—that they wished for full participation in the Community Association. This was very strongly opposed by the two local senior Government officials of the time, one, the Area Administrator who insisted that it was his Department's official policy to encourage the formation of racially separate community organisations, and the other, the School Principal, who spoke very critically of the Eskimo during the series of four meetings which took place, insisted that they were not responsible people, not ready for "full participation", that they would be happier on their own, and offered as the summary of his sentiments the statement: "I know this is not a popular word, but I know that I mean, and what it means, but what I believe is that what we need around here is more segregation". (Late winter–early spring, 1963.)

Strong feelings and hostilities were aroused during the process of this meetings, with the representatives of the other White agencies, the Eskimo, and one independent family—united against the local Department of Northern Affairs stand in this matter. The Government officials offered a solution based on the Community Association at Baker Lake, wherein racial separation was accomplished, while the one Association acted as an umbrella, drawing the two groups into discussion with a series of parallel and interlocking committees. A number of Eskimo speakers in the final meeting of the series in the Spring of 1963 stated that this system was complicated and unnecessary. They said that though many of the Eskimo may not fully understand what was going on in meetings and social functions where English was the controlling language, most people who had been in the community for any time understood enough English to have some idea of what was going on, and felt that it was most important that they have the opportunity to participate on an equal basis, so that they could continue to learn. Off on their own, stated one Eskimo spokesman, the Eskimo would have less opportunity to learn the procedures and usages of public meetings, large social gatherings, and large

community organisation, which were skills in which the Eskimo had no experience and in which the White people excel. A cooling-off pause of a few weeks followed.

Later in the early summer of 1963, the combined population of Rankin Inlet succeeded in founding an association devoted essentially and exclusively to recreation, avoiding completely the contentious areas which had so concerned the Department of Northern Affairs officials in the earlier series of meetings. Very little opposition was raised to an organisation which would not have any concern with public affairs, community self-government, Adult Education, and matters of official policy. The two Government officials who had proposed a radically-separated community organisation earlier, did, in the new series of meetings, propose for the community recreation association, membership fees which would have effectively excluded ninety-five percent of the Eskimo population, but the proposals were voted down.

The present recreation association is divided into number of sub-committees responsible for the organisation of such social functions as, dances, bingos, movies, youth groups, and some sports, such as curling. There is equal Eskimo and White representation on each of these committees, and during the 1964–65 winter, each succeeded in organising a number of social functions which created general satisfaction throughout the settlement. Under special licence, beers and spirits were sold at many of these functions, which were open to all Rankin Inlet residents of adult age. The nucleus of the relatively-large Eskimo attendance at these functions was made up at that time—of the regular employees of the various White agencies and their wives, a total of some thirty individuals, but usually as many again attended from among those Eskimo residents who acquired some income from handicrafts, trapping and casual work. While the Aivilimiut and Qairnirmiut were still numerically preponderent in the Rankin Inlet population, and the inland group people smaller in number than ever, due to out-migrations, only two inland families, one originally from Eskimo Point, and one originally from Baker Lake, remained notably self-effacing. Even in those two instances, at least one member of each family usually now contributed some statement, usually of a rather personal nature concerning family affairs and needs, at almost every public meeting. In recreational affairs, the people from the inland groups not only usually attended, but Ahiamiut, Kamanituamniut, and Back's River people were to be found (elected) on the organising committees.

Sociability

It has already been pointed out that during the life of the Mine, social visiting between the Eskimo and the Whites was strictly limited, although in the case of the Eskimo-speaking Welfare and Rehabilitation Officer and his family, such social visiting was a

continuous part of their social life. There was no visiting by White people, for purely social purposes, in the homes of the Eskimo other than by this one family. A major non-organisational social event which was something of a turning-point in Eskimo–White social relations in Rankin Inlet, was the wedding of the Department of Northern Affairs technical supervisor of the era, who married a Department of Northern Affairs schoolteacher. An Eskimo child was flower-girl, thirty-two Eskimo families were invited to the lavishly-sumptuous banquet which followed the public Church ceremony, which was attended by most of the community, and all of the Eskimo were invited to the dance which followed the banquet. By 1965, there had been developing for about two years an increasing tendency for some of the technical staff of the Department of Northern Affairs, and some of the teachers, to invite Eskimo–White agency employees and their wives to private parties in their homes. Such parties were brought together by formal invitation. Among the homes of the White people, the instances of casual "drop-in" social visits from Eskimo was still very low, and remains so. One non-official Eskimo-speaking permanently resident family does receive a constant stream of casual "drop-in" Eskimo visitors, and this family does visit socially in the Eskimo village, but this instance is exceptional. Again, language capacity is a Key factor.

For most of the 1964–65 period, there were fourteen White children, whose parents were resident in the community, old enough to play alone or without parental supervision continuously. Both teachers and the observer recognised a tendency for these White children (though in no case specifically and consciously excluding Eskimo children from their play, as in the case of a Government official's family two years previously)—to play more often among themselves, though occasionally including Eskimo children in their play groups. This tendency may have been to some degree a function of the still quite substantial physical separation of the dwelling areas of the members of the two groups. However these play patterns tended to remain the same during school recesses, and it was noted in both out-of-school and school-play situations, the Eskimo children, with very few exceptions, usually ceded initiative in the nature of the play to the White children. The researcher has been able to observe the trend for Eskimo children to exert initiative and protectiveness in their relationships with younger white children with whom they play, but in most instances it is most noted that even the younger child, if White, can assert and maintain the initiative for most of the play period when relating to Eskimo children.

CHAPTER XI

Present Family Trends

Nuclearity

It was observed earlier that the traditional pattern of the Eskimo family was economic and social emphasis on the extended family. It was also pointed out that many of the families in Rankin Inlet are fragments of extended families rather than complete units. Until the Autumn of 1962, overcrowding in the insufficient and inadequate houses was a serious health problem. Sixty percent of the dwellings contained more than one nuclear family, and residence patterns invariably followed extended family or blood kinship lines. One such dwelling contained the senior parents, their three school-age children, their two older sons, and their wives, their babies, and the husband of an adult daughter and their child—all in a dwelling measuring sixteen feet by sixteen feet. As outmigration made more housing available, residence patterns tended to reflect the separation of nuclear families into dwellings of their own, usually with the approval of the senior parents and certainly with the approval of the authorities who recognised a menace to health represented by the overcrowding.

Even before the physical separation of nuclear families began to be the normal pattern in Rankin Inlet, the money economy had contributed in the majority of the Eskimo families to increasing nuclear family orientation. Every wage-earner was strongly encouraged to open his own separate bank account. Funds were pooled and continued to be pooled for the purchase of such things as canoes, outboard motors, and motor toboggans, but it is impossible for the traditional patterns of sharing to be extended to such capital goods as radios, record players, chests of drawers, and cameras. The maximization of employment opportunities which occurred following the close-down of the Mine also contributed to the break-down of the nuclear families. During the survey undertaken by the researcher in the winter of 1960–61, each adult in one complete nuclear family asserted that while willing to migrate anywhere for subsequent employment, they would insist on keeping the extended family together. In fact two of the adult sons of his family have now left Rankin Inlet for employment elsewhere. The economic rationale which emphasised the utility of the extended family in the hunting life is vitiated by the wage employment orientations which are now more highly valued by the majority of the Rankin Inlet Eskimo population. For the younger adults, dependency on the experience and wisdom of the senior parents is no longer strong, as

their knowledge is not seen as applicable to the problems of the wage-earning macro-social living patterns of the modern era.

Authority

The proliferation of authority exterior to the extended family, and now seen by many of the younger generation as more significant to their lives than the rule of the older people, is dissipating the internal strength of the traditional Eskimo family which, as we have seen, was based on the undisputed authority of the patriarch, or matriarch. In the historical era, the missionaries and the traders tended to maximise the traditional Eskimo patterns of authority, and to work through the senior family members, but in the modern wage-earning community, the decisive White agencies have dealt directly with the individual in the context of his work setting. All informants interviewed have stated that their authority over the children of school age appears to decrease progressively with the number of years the child spends in school. Many say that the authority of the school teacher is more important to most of the school children now, than the authority of their parents. Complaints about the disobedience of school-age children, and their increasing lack of discipline, have become standard subjects of Eskimo conversation and are more frequently raised in public meetings. At the same time, most Eskimo parents verbalise their strong attachment to the belief that education is vital to their children, and though the parents of seven of the children who were sent to Churchill for residential school education in the Autumn of 1964 articulated misgivings about the move, all said they believed it was better for the children, and encouraged them to go. The children were not sent home for Christmas, and two of the adolescents who went away for education for a second year, starting in the Autumn of 1964—were recruited to stay in the south after the end of school, to take summer employment. The parents of three of the children who went to Churchill last Autumn said that they will not permit their children to go back again after their return this Spring. They say that they wish for the children to remain with them in the family, but will be happy if they can continue to receive their education while living in the family home.

We have observed at the same time the high frequency of instances whereby the authority of the older generation is still recognised in matters of marriage, adoption, and the naming of children. Moreover, since the series of migrations out of Rankin Inlet to a variety of distant location for employment purposes, there were in 1964–65, eight instances of individuals, or nuclear families, returning to Rankin Inlet, despite the paucity of economic opportunities, and all of these home-comings were based on the desire of the individuals involved to become re-united with the other kin here. They usually involved invoking the support of a statement that a senior person in the family had requested this

move. In the Spring of 1965, a young Aivilimiut man went to Lynn Lake to work in the Mine there, living with relatives. His elderly adoptive parents here at Rankin Inlet submitted to Government pressure to let him go, and were very unhappy about his absence ever after, worried that he may become "entangled with a White girl", and concerned about the news that he had shared in the purchase of a car. Within a month of the young man's departure, both of the elderly parents were saying that they would wait until the Autumn before recalling him, showing not the slightest doubt that when they sent word for him to leave his job and come back to the less attractive prospects of Rankin Inlet, he would unhesitatingly do so. Totally, however, we have a picture of increasing family nuclearity, and dissipation of traditional authority within the context of the extended family, accompanied by the ambivalencies and inevitable strains that these trends are creating.

THE RE-INTERPRETATION OF VALUES

It is within the context of the family that we may examine briefly the process of re-interpretation of values which is occurring in this acculturation situation. The high value attached to the capacity for vigorous and creative thought did not usually in the traditional setting orient the focus of committment very far beyond the extended family or camp group. More contemporarily surrounded by a variety of employers, by school teachers, by Government specialist staff, and impressed by the considerable authority of the administration, all of these individuals being the bearers of a culture which physically demonstrates enormous intellectual competence—the individual Eskimo is constantly impressed with people who arouse his respect for the power of thought occurring well beyond his immediate reference group. Traditionally the respect for the power of thought strengthened the ancient beliefs and social bonds, but in the contemporary situation this value acts in a centrifugal manner in the disintegration of the long established solidarities.

It has been pointed out that the value of seniority operated to inculcate traditionally a largely-unquestioning acceptance of authority. Again this value functions to refocus social and emotional committments outside of the traditional Eskimo structures, where the tremendous authority of the influential and controlling White people impinges upon the Eskimo society. Further ambivalencies are aroused, moreover, when the authority of a White agency is represented in a person of comparative youthfulness, as is not infrequently the case in a part of the world to which the old are not usually drawn and where most of the White "old-timers" have now died or withdrawn. The sense of disorientation is even further increased when authority is represented in the person of a young female school teacher. Other forms of distortion of these values occur where

Eskimo who have been impressed by the evidence of intellectual competence on the part of the White people and by their obvious general power—accept, through lack of experiences or inability to judge the personality of White people—the authority of some junior or less responsible White person and take literally what they were told by them. Here too the value of respect comes into play, carrying assumptions of dignity and responsibility on the part of the White man, and suffering serious damage when self-respect is diminished as a result of mishandling by a White man.

In the modern setting of post-industrial Rankin Inlet, as in other Keewatin settlements where some individuals have found steady employment, while many others have lost their traditional means of self-support and have not been able to retain alternative means, the traditional value of sharing has undergone in some situations, forms of reinterpretation or distortion which do not contribute to the solidarity of the family. Out of a large number of instances, one example may serve to illustrate the point. Traditionally the value of sharing operated effectively because of the implicit assumption that within the extended family and the camp group there was the certainty of reciprocity. The situation developed that a number of the regular Eskimo wage-earner found themselves automatically expected to support as far as possible members of their extended family, and even people to whom they are more distantly related. The wage earner still readily shares the food he buys, and buys more after having shared his food with people beyond his nuclear family. On request, he also shares money, buys food and oil and clothing for others in his kin group. These others, like the wage earner, being imbued with the value of sharing—rarely feel any sense of inappropriateness in this situation, and certainly not that anyone is being exploited. Any suggestion that the wage earner should not share, particularly with his closest kin, however unlikely it may be that in the present economic circumstances these other kin will ever be able to reciprocate—is greeted in most cases with a genuine response of distress and pain. In some cases, however, the individual wage-earner, in automatically following the traditional readiness to share, has over-extended his resources to the material detriment of his own family. The Area Administrator was unable to understand how the child of a regular wage-earner was actually under-nourished, until the ramifications of the value of sharing as it operated through this man's extended kin, were fully explained to him. There are instances where the wage-earner has been under pressure from the White authorities not to respond to the value of sharing and to the expectations of his extended kin in this regard, with the result that intense strains have been created in the individual. In several instances, men placed in this position have made distorted use of the traditional value of withdrawal by suddenly, "inexplicably" performing so inadequately on the job that they have been dismissed, and thus released from the wage-earning rôle that has been creating such intense and painful internal conflicts for the individual.

Socialisation

Traditionally the sources of socialisation in the upbringing of Eskimo children were limited almost entirely to the extended family. The economic self-sufficiency of the extended family unit was complemented by the internal organisation for the training of children in all of the skills required to support life, and in the inculcation of values, attitudes and beliefs. Thus too the emotional committment of the traditional Eskimo was intensely and almost exclusively toward the internal family structure. Moreover the cosmological beliefs reinforced the family solidarities because of the notion of soul participation in the metaphysical elements by means of the soul names, which were of course, essentially significant in terms of their place in the kin system. Even the incursions upon traditional Eskimo economic and belief patterns represented by the fur trade and the missionaries—did not radically change the strong family orientation, in that the traders and the missionaries tended to work through the extended families.

The importance of the immediate parental and grandparental rôles in socialisation, and the division of socialisation functions by sex—have already been noted. In Rankin Inlet the process of socialisation, which, as it has been pointed out—was considered traditionally as an extremely important *raison d'être* for the mature individual—has suffered extensive dissipation. The male head of the family who was accustomed traditionally to taking his sons with him from a very early age—could no longer do so as a regular industrial wage earner, nor can he still in the other technical and labouring tasks which some of the Eskimo wage earners have, not even in the work of the Crafts Centre.

Even for those men who have turned back to hunting, the opportunity for them to take their sons and teach those skills which they know best, and in which their culture takes the greatest pride—is very limited, as the age at which children usually started to accompany their fathers when hunting and trapping co-incides with the age when children start going to school. Similarly for little girls, the women who traditionally were kept very busy with the preparation and sewing of various items of skin clothing, and the variegated work of dealing with the products of the hunt—have been insufficiently knowledgeable of the modern domestic skills to have much urban knowledge which they could pass on to their daughters. Very little in the way of products of the hunt has been coming into many of the Eskimo homes for over half a decade in many cases, as the men have been engaged in wage-earning work. Moreover the knowledge, beliefs and value system most profoundly known by the senior generation, appear in the minds of the younger people to be less and less applicable to the patterns of life in the industrial society.

The working life and the attitudes of the White group in the earlier days of the Rankin Inlet settlement particularly—whereby there was a process of devaluation of Eskimo traditions—all lead the parent to be less sure of their traditional values, and even less sure as to how to transmit them meaningfully in the modern context. The demonstrable success of people with education, more notable in a community such as Rankin than in some of the historic settlements, appears to suggest to the Eskimo that the information and attitudes transmitted through the school are more important than anything which a child might be taught in the context of the family. When the totally non-northern school curriculum, was taught in a manner which was negative toward the Eskimo language and culture, devaluating even the names of the Eskimo children—the limited resources for socialisation which now existed for the Eskimo parents were even further weakened. Parents themselves habitually ascribed great importance to education, and in most cases strongly encouraged the children to pay close attention to everything that they were taught in school. At the same time a great deal of the cultural patterns and values which were transmitted in the process of school education were those essentially of the southern urban society in which the curriculum was developed and from which most of the teachers come. Even so the curriculum itself was subject to a great deal of variation according to the attitudes and Province of origin of every individual teacher—such that the new major source of socialisation for the school-age children—the school—was itself often inconsistant and fragmental, as well as being markedly out of resonance with the patterns of the traditional Eskimo culture.

In this process, two types of socialisation not conspicuously present in the traditional situation, are emerging as means of influencing the children. The children have for the first time in recent years been exposed to punitive discipline of the type that is normal in the modern school, and which occasionally includes light corporal punishment, something which was very rare in the Eskimo traditional society. Younger parents are now observed with greater frequency administering slaps or full-scale spankings in the disciplining of children. As the children in many families appear to become less and less amenable to the quiet commands which were normal in the traditional family, and more and more unruly, shouting and threats are more common, but not notably any more effective. It may be of interest of record that one of the more common threats used by parents with the younger children in Rankin Inlet was:

"If you are not good the Government man will get you", or "You must be a good child; if you keep on being bad I will give you to the Area Administrator".

An alternative and increasingly notable mode of trying to influence the children, employed by Eskimo parents, is the rather heavy-handed use of indulgence. Most Rankin Inlet children are very plentifully provided with candy, gum, and soft drinks, and even most of the poorest families have been noted extending their financial re-

sources beyond their capability, in order to provide a steady succession of toys bought from the Hudson's Bay Company, by mail order, and now the Co-op. Traditionally parents made play-things for their children out of domestic resources, but the sophisticated selection of toys available in the Hudson's Bay Company and the Co-op, and also those to be seen in the catalogues of the mail order houses—which are to be found in every Eskimo dwelling—are more attractive to the children, whose demands are very usually indulged quite readily. Again, further material on modern patterns of socialisation is available and more remains to be acquired and analyzed, but for the purposes of this report it is possible only, with these few illustrations, to demonstrate the very substantial moving-out of the family of the major socialisation influences in the lives of young Rankin Inlet children. We note also the strains, frustrations and ambivalencies suffered by the parents through the losses in their socialisation rôle, and the notable trend toward the alienation of generations which is occurring in this process.

The Disintegrated Adolescent

In this present situation of disorientation the demi-cultured adolescents and young adult Eskimo appear to be having difficulty, in many instances, in finding needed sources of social support and solidarity. In this group in Rankin Inlet, which represents roughly a sixth of the total population, men, particularly the adolescents, seem to be increasingly unable to relate effectively with their more traditionalistic parents. Very few adolescents show any serious interest in hunting and fishing and still less in trapping—a particularly arduous and unexciting occupation—but in present economic circumstances many cannot find steady work. In the early 'sixties five such young men were sent out by the Government for one or more vocational training courses, always in the south, and three young men took, over time, no less than three different vocational courses. On their return from each of these courses they found no work to do, though when they returned from a carpentry course in 1963 they arrived on the same aircraft as a crew of casual labourers from the south hired in mid-season by the Department of Northern Affairs. Two of these habitual trainees went to a northern Manitoba Mine in the Spring of 1965, but partly because of the ambivalence of their very traditionalistic parents who have evinced very mixed feelings about their departure—they encountered difficult in settling down.

The tendency on the part of most members of the White society to deal with these young people firstly in terms of their ethnicity rather than on their individual merits with their origins as simply one aspect of their make-up—creates for the young people a sense of separateness which inhibits the development of fully effective relationship. In the early 'sixties few of the adolescents had more than Grade Four education, and most,

much less. Most of them demonstrated affection for their parents, and need for their emotional support, but rejected claims made upon them in terms of the traditional values and practices. For example, the attempts of their parents to arrange marriages for them and to encourage their early consummation—were met with increasing resistance. Thus in these young people we see a group which was not sufficiently integrated either with the Eskimo society or the larger Canadian society. The education system upon which they so basically depended for the acquisition of sufficient skills and qualifications to satisfy their aspirations of fuller participation in the southern Canadian way of life, had so far succeeded only in creating aspirations, but not in providing the wherewithal to achieve them, while devaluating the culture of the society with which they were principally identified. This devaluation incidentally advanced the process of the alienation of generations. Thus there has for long been developing the possibility of the growth in Keewatin of an increasingly large number of people sufficiently affected by socio-cultural disintegration as to be in a classical condition of anomie.

The "Dysfunctionalisation" of Women

It has been pointed out that the wife in the traditional Eskimo setting was a vital survival element in the family team task of making a living from the Arctic. A variety of skills were required of the wife, and she was kept constantly busy applying them throughout her life. By far the majority of the Eskimo women-folk whose husbands found work in Rankin Inlet—have wished to retain the advantages which settlement residence and steady income provide. Many of the women in Rankin Inlet are able to recount stories of the children they have lost in early infancy. The convenience of the Nursing Station, and the comparative comfort of the permanent dwellings, by comparison with the nomadic existence and the precarious subsistence of the hunting life, strongly motivate many of the women to prefer the life of wage-earners' wives living in a large settlement. Very few of the women do not find the very well-stocked store attractive, and many of the younger women haunt it as a social meeting-place, making protracted visits several times a day.

For the younger women particularly, the traditional life on the land is quite unattractive, not only because they have less experience in practising the skills of the traditional way of life, and not only because of its hardships, but because the hunting life does not permit the wearing of attractive but not-particularly-durable clothing, with which the store is well stocked, the use of the intriguing gadgetry which can be used in the electrified homes, and the participation in the increasing number of pleasant social functions in the community.

Nor all Eskimo women in Rankin Inlet have learned sufficient of the domestic skills

usual in a permanent home, using cooking materials from the south—as to be able to feel functionally in command of the mechanics of their domestic rôle in the non-traditional setting. In the industrial community the Eskimo wage-earners are not so vitally dependent upon the skills of their wives to keep them out on the job. The majority of the women knew sufficiently little of White-man's pattern of domestic skills that they have had little to pass on to their smaller daughters, and the older school-age daughters have come to know more of the modern domestic skills, through the school Home Economics programme—than their mothers. Several older women informants have told the researcher that they do not know how to advise their daughters, in their adolescent years, in ways other than the teachings of their own mothers, and many of the mothers interviewed have complained that their daughters make it clear that they do not value attitudes and advice derived from the traditional past.

By the time of the close-down of the Mine, the writer was recording frequent statements on the part of women that they did not know what to do with themselves, and though they liked living in the settlement, they often found themselves remembering the hunting era days happily. The incidence of women coming to the Welfare Officer in a state of perturbation about episodes of village gossip became quite frequent. Among the men was heard more frequently, the complaint that by contrast with the traditional days, when a woman was always to be found in her own home, too often men went back to their dwellings to find the house empty, while their women-folk trailed their children from house to house in functionless and desultory visiting, or in spending hours standing about in the store. The medical staff stated that almost half of their heavy clinic intake daily—at one point in 1962 an average of twenty-eight examinations a day—was made up of women with minor ailments, notably intestinal pains, back pains and headaches—a substantial proportion of which they felt to be psychosomatic.

During the middle 'sixties, the malaise of feminine dysfunctionalisation began to some degree to be offset by four factors. Better medical facilities, better housing and more consistant availability of food, have contributed to the survival of more children, and the birthrate among Rankin Inlet women is high. In the summer 1965 population of three hundred and ten Eskimo in Rankin Inlet, there were eighty-eight children of school age and one hundred and two children under school age. The care of the young children is then, in many Eskimo families in Rankin, an increasingly preoccupying function. Since the Spring of 1963, the potential for women to make an economic contribution to the family has increased enormously, through the development of the Government handicrafts project. Sewing work is produced for the project, using materials issued by the Government, and involving every home in Rankin Inlet, and in over half of them this has became a major source of income. Indeed, in many families in Keewatin, the women's skills have proved to be a more steady source of income than

the men's endeavours. This has profound implications. As a result of the home-making instruction carried on by an independent White family wife in Rankin Inlet in the winter of 1962–63, over a third of the women in the population acquired a greater degree of basic domestic skills, such as the baking of bread, the preparation of casseroles from store and local resources, the use of powdered milk in a large variety of basic meals and desserts, and the preparation of bannock with different flavours and extra ingredients calculated to provide greater nutrition.

During the last two winters of the period of this study, the Eskimo women became increasingly included in the social affairs of the settlement. They were encouraged to speak in public meetings, help in the organisation of recreational functions, and were called for in substantial numbers to help in the preparation of food stuffs for community recreational occasions. In summary then, it may be said that though dysfunctionalisation in traditional terms has occurred, the ongoing child-care and housekeeping functions, plus the economic value of their traditionalistic sewing have caused less disorientation than for the men who have no work but can no longer hunt. Moreover, in a culture which always valued intelligence and respect, the new macro-social setting appears to have released many articulate and thoughtful women from their traditional public reticence, and their voices are increasingly heard and influential in the settlement forums. This latter factor is now a matter of really solid significance in this and many other Arctic settlements.

PART THREE

CHAPTER XII

The Social Protection Response

In an earlier piece of writing in which I was involved in collaboration with Shimpo,[1] an attempt was made to describe the functions of a social response in an acculturation situation, which had its origins in the traditional culture, but underwent certain distortions in the contact situation. For the want of a better term at the time the phrase "self-defence mechanism" was employed, but I have felt this phrase to be unsatisfactory. Though, if anything, more cumbersome, the phrase "social protection response" I feel reflects more felicitously the intentions of the concept. The phrase "self-defense mechanism" has a ring of psychologising which is not intended. The purpose here certainly is to describe a response by which individuals protect themselves from too-penetrating incursions upon their own cultural and emotional stability, but the concept is equally significant as descriptive of a group phenomenon, and of attempts by individuals to use themselves as a socio-cultural barrier and serve on the behalf of their group. The reader is asked to refer to page 12 of the introduction for what may stand as a summary of this argument. The material available, plus the further research and analysis which yet remains to be done--provide sufficient substance for the pursuance of this concept, that a full monograph on this area of interest alone should be undertaken. In this limited report, however, it is possible only to touch on some of the salient points.

Traditional

Reference to the earlier remarks dealing with the traditional Eskimo values will reveal that the social protection response was an important factor in the indigenous traditional culture. Various aspects of the social protection response are demonstrated in the functioning of the values for sharing and family solidarity, the value for frankness, the value for respect, and the social mode of withdrawal, and the application of all of these func-

[1] M. Shimpo - R. G. Williamson, *Socio-Cultural Disintegration Among the Fringe Saulteaux*. (Saskatoon, 1965).

tional feelings to the retention of the emotional and social integrity of the individual, the social and economic self-sufficiency of the extended family and the social solidarity of the camp group and the dialectal sub-group.

The traditional response of self-effacement, even of the influential *angaquq*, who insisted that his powers derived from helping forces, of which he was merely a vehicle—was a manifestation of the traditional form of the social protection response which protected the individual from over-committment and prevented the culturally integrated individual from socially-disruptive assertion. This too was the function of the extreme tolerance of the Eskimo social attitudes. Harmony and calm were essential to the inter-dependent working of a survival group such as the Eskimo extended family or the camp group, and flexibility in social relations protected the group from the development of internally hostile situations which might threaten its existence.

It is hoped that it can be made clear that the social protection response describes forms of behaviour which are not overt gestures of resistance, but rather are gestures of acceptance, respect, and agreement which may soften the force of exterior assertion or influence, blunt and slow down the degree of penetration of such incursions upon the individual or group emotional cultural and social status quo, and thus protect the established values of the society as far as possible. The social protection response, then, can be overt ingratiation, serving the covert purposes of cultural conservation and the protection of the established sources of personal and group social integration.

Adjustment

Popularly the Eskimo have a wide reputation for their adaptability, a rather general way of describing the functioning of the set of traditional values which served to preserve harmony in the inter-dependent Eskimo society, and adjustment to physical environment. Combining to form what may be called the working elements of the social protection response, these traditional patterns can be seen at the same time to be now somewhat self-defeating. Two illustrations of this may be used here. It has been shown that the early White people in contact with the Eskimo left an impression of enormous power and knowledge, and secondly they could offer material objects which were of great practical use to the Eskimo people. For both reasons it was necessary to be more assertive, in relationship with them, but equally to be able to compromise, even to ingratiate. In the process the Eskimo were drawn particularly by involvement in the trapping industry into economic patterns which radically changed their material values and which contributed to the secularisation of their most sacred pursuit, hunting. Traditional cultural conditioning also stimulated the same set of responses, to take a second example, in their relationships with the missionaries. The process of acceptance,

respect for the individual and for his intellect, and thus his ideas, the need to compromise with a source of great power, and at the same time the intellectual curiosity of the Eskimo leaders—all led to an involvement with the missionaries, which, combined with the practical fact of their association with the traders—led the Eskimo progressively into a degree of involvement and ultimately of committal which is unlikely to have been anticipated by them in the early period of contact. Thus today, for many second-generation Christian Eskimo, particularly Anglicans, who were the objects of a very sweeping evangelical approach—knowledge of the traditional beliefs and folklore upon which the still-existing values were based—is very limited and fragmented.

Realising the cultural propriety of the social protective response, it is of interest to observe some of its manifestations in the contemporary situation. It is interesting to note the frequency of statements by White people who have spent some years among the Eskimo, both verbally and written, (as for example the physician who spent four years at Chesterfield Inlet)—to the effect that:

"Though the Eskimo are always very friendly, it is impossible to *really* get to know them. You never know what they are really thinking".

The "Amai" Screen or Antenna

The one Eskimo word which almost all White people learn very early in their contact with the Eskimo in Keewatin—because they hear it so frequently—is "amai"—(or in Baker Lake "amiasu")—which means "one does not know". This word is used protectively with great frequency by the Keewatin Eskimo in contact with the Whites, particularly by the Baker Lake people, and is a form of a antenna as well as a gentle barrier. Fear, lack of ease, or lack of certainty as to what the White people have in mind, (they are notorious in the minds of most of the Eskimo for inconsistency)—combined with the influence of the value system—cause the Eskimo to adopt in many instances a position which at least until they are more sure of themselves—does not commit them. Either positive or purely negative response to the initiative of a White person would be committal, and the technique is then to discover the implications of any form of committment. The "amai" response is then a form of opinion-testing too, whereby the individual uses this response in reply to the questions, stimuli, suggestions, and commands of the White people until he is sure of two things, firstly—what it is that the White man really wants, and secondly—the degree to which this is satisfactory to the individual in question.

In the modern setting, the functioning of this response in a way which is emotionally satisfactory to the individual, but likely to be damaging to him economically and socially in terms of his relationship with the White people—is to be observed in the way in

which a person in the employ of the White people and for some reason unhappy about the situation—sets about becoming disengaged. It has been noted that quite often, rather than confront the employer, the individual begins a process of gradual withdrawal, by becoming unpunctual and unindustrious on the job, missing days or simply staying away altogether until it is heard that a replacement has been found. Not infrequently the technique of ingratiation is renewed, whereby the individual approaches the erstwhile employer after an interval of a week or two and attempts to explain, usually by invoking the need to hunt or telling of family difficulties why the withdrawal had to take place.

In summary then, the usual manifestations of the social protective response are non-assertion, compromise, ingratiation, minimal response, physical withdrawal, non-committal, and opinion-testing before response.

The Time-Phases of The S.P.R. as Observed at Rankin Inlet

The trends of observations already recorded here have given some indication of how the social protection response has operated in dialect-group social relations. It has been observed that for the first six years of the life of the Rankin Inlet settlement, coinciding with the life of the Mine, (1956–62) dialect group solidarities were retained to a very high degree, whereby visiting, exchange of goods and services, hunting, recreational activities, and even insofar as it was possible—residence patterns and work group patterns—followed the dialect group delineations. These patterns remained strongest among the people who felt no sense of permanent committment to the community, people strongly influenced by the atmosphere of impermanence which characterized the settlement and who adjusted to the contemporary patterns in the community as little as possible. These were largely the people who intended to stay only as long as it was possible to make good money, and people who had a known home base to which they could return. Thus the patterns of in-group exclusiveness were most notable among exactly those same families who returned to Eskimo Point, Baker Lake, and Repulse Bay during the close-down period of the Mine or shortly afterwards.

Mixed group hunting parties, adoption from out of the group, and mixed group sociability have taken place among people most notably committed to permanent residence in the Rankin Inlet community. These include the survivors of the inland starvation groups, the people from Ennadai Lake, Garry Lake and Back's River, who felt it unlikely that they will ever be able to return to those areas, and Qairnirmiut and Aivilimiut who have found more steady employment in Rankin Inlet and have established substantial permanent residences. Thus it is possible to describe the functioning of the social protection response in Rankin Inlet in two historical phases.

The first was the period of tentative and temporary acceptance of involvement in a strictly economic relationship with the industrial commercial and official world in the settlement, with minimal involvement in or even participation in community activity, and maximal social inter-action within dialect sub-groups. Periods of employment tended to be relatively short at first, with incidents of withdrawal more frequent. Initiatives and assertion in relations with the whites were rare and interaction nervous and guarded. Economic need, particularly as expressed by the women-folk, impelled return to wage employment and longer stays "on the job", until men became "steady" workers, and were advanced in skill and pay levels. This process developed some familiarity with the whites, including increasing exposure to and some understanding of their language and of their values.

The second phase emerged as the influence of government initiatives toward community organisation stimulated the Mine manager to exert his authority in generating public meetings, and to manipulate the Eskimo Council which grew out of these efforts. This Council became an established element in the attempts to improve settlement life, though for many of the local people, a more attractive organisation, generating greater interest and involvement—has been the recreation-oriented Community Association. The years of familiarisation with those macro-organisational processes have developed some skills in their use. In the face of exterior innovations, the time needed to consider them is extended by a technique used by some leading Eskimo personalities in the settlement, who align themselves very vocally with the Whites, by stating in public meeting, for example, how much the people have to be grateful for what the Government has done, and calling upon the people to co-operate in matters of public hygiene, efforts at self-sufficiency through the handicrafts and the hunting, in the disciplining of children to protect buildings, and to establish regular eating and sleeping hours so that they can follow the school time schedules and benefit maximally from the education offered. This was often a preamble to speaking on some specific outside initiative. Invariably some form of co-operativeness would be evinced, and often only developments over time would show the actual degree of agreement generally felt. However, some initiatives were also not built upon, not through the disinclination of the people, but through lack of effective communication and understanding on both sides. Cultural re-interpretation of an initiative, followed by attempts at application in the re-interpreted context—is a more reliable way of testing real acceptance. This process usually requires skilled and respected internal leadership. Again it might be noted in Rankin, that two of the most prominent Eskimo spokesman to whom the White people have looked for leadership are men with long and prominent family histories of shamanism.

Just as the steady adjustments to the economic and religious pressures of the White

people have had, in the long terms, the effect of dissipating traditional sources of social and metaphysical integration, the adoption of the immediate benefits of participation in the wage-earning, urban-value oriented culture of the White people in the contemporary era, has contributed to the fragmentation of extended family solidarity, and the dysfunctionalisation of the traditional parental rôle, so there are indications that the persistance of immediacy or short-term adjustment to the pressures of the Whites may in some significant areas exacerbate the process of socio-cultural disintegration. Few parents have resisted the Government pressure to send their children away to go to school, for example, though it is already obvious that the process of generation alienation is being advanced by this. There are increasing numbers of young Eskimo who lack knowledge of the traditional sources of social integration, but are insufficiently educated to fully engage the opportunities of southern Canadian society.

CHAPTER XIII

The Problems of Language

Social Significance of Their Language to the Eskimo

It should be rather obvious by this point in the narrative that the problems of language are very significant, not only in the matter of inter-group social relations, but also for the Eskimo—their language is vitally important as the vehicle for the traditions on which they depend for support in attempting to comprehend and engage the problems of the present. The need for personal and group identification with something valued and respected in the larger world, as well as within the group, is still met mainly through the use of language. Reference to earlier sections of this report will provide some demonstration of the way the Eskimo language as a symbolic system of cognition, affects the perceptions and attitudes of the people for whom it is the matrix of thought. In the modern setting, very little remains, other than the contemporary Eskimo art work, but the language—as a source of group identification, and for all of the Eskimo in Keewatin, even the younger ones, the language remains the essential means of communication and the basic social bond.

Present Trends and Solutions

The dominant society with which the Eskimo are confronted has nevertheless very largely rejected the Eskimo language as of significance in the contemporary situation. All employers highly value the ability of potential employees to speak English, and this has connotations for the Eskimo of an inherent devaluation of their own language and hence of their culture. Certainly this was not an intentional devaluation on the part of most White people, though an exception must be made in the Department of Northern Affairs education personnel. Most of the teachers rejected the use of Eskimo names for their pupils, and insisted on the use of the baptismal names given to them by the missionaries. In 1960 at a formal conference, the then-chief of the Education Division of the Department of Northern Affairs said that as a matter of policy it must be the Government's purpose to accomplish "the elimination of the Eskimo language". He stated that the Eskimo language is of very minor, museum-type interest, and is essentially to be regarded as a negative element in the social problems with which the Government is confronted. At the same time, it must be pointed out that the same

Department of Northern Affairs, in another section of its organisation—for almost ten years expended considerable money and effort in the development of a new, standard, Roman alphabet orthography for the written expression of the Eskimo language.

In employment policies, it was observed in 1963 by one Eskimo leader that the Government appeared to demonstrate that it values more highly than any other, men who speak the language of the officials, even if these men are less competent and dependable than others who speak English less fluently. The researcher has later notes of the observations of three of the leading Eskimo figures in the settlement who have at various times observed in their own way that the White men appear to value the ability to speak their language over intelligence, industriousness, dependability, and "good character", and they gave examples. The Department of Northern Affairs only ever had four Area Administrators who spoke the Eskimo language with any command, (by far the largest majority did not speak it at all)—and of these none remained working in the north—nor was any posted to Rankin Inlet in those formative years. None of the teachers who had passed through Rankin Inlet up to 1965 and none of the southern technical staff spoke the language. The Department's Welfare and Rehabilitation Officer at Rankin Inlet from 1960 to 1963 was a man who speaks the language fluently, but he resigned from the Department in the spring of 1963, in order to stay in the Arctic and persue his basic profession, anthropology. So the access to the Eskimo people through the communication of its own non-indigenous employees, was very limited in the Department.

It was common for the Hudson's Bay Company staff to acquire some competence in the language, though usually restricted to a form of trader's pidgin, but even that is now increasingly rare. All of the Roman Catholic missionaries of more than two or three years experience in the Arctic, are fluent in the language, though often speaking it with a European accent, but the Anglican missionaries, with two exceptions, are noted for their limited abilities in this regard. Before the Anglican Mission at Rankin Inlet was closed down in 1964, it was staffed by an Eskimo Minister who identified entirely and exclusively with the Eskimo.

The Use and Significance of Interpreters

Thus the use of interpreters has been the major means of communication with the Eskimo people. During the recent years White people wishing to communicate with Eskimo have occasionally made use of older school children, but during the history of Rankin Inlet up until 1965, by far the greatest burden of interpretation fell upon four men, two of Labrador origins, who acted in the day-to-day business of the agencies with the Eskimo as their "official" interpreters. None of these men had any school education, and their knowledge of English was more limited than most of the White people be-

lieved. It was the habit of these men to give the impression, in their eagerness to please, that they understood English better than they actually did. On the part of the White people, the tendency is to assume greater knowledge and to use vocabularly and idiom which is not tailored to the understanding of the interpreters. Where the subjects dealt with are routine and familiar, the interpreters usually manage very well, but serious mistakes do occur. One example was that of the Mine Eskimo Foreman, who was heavily depended-upon by all of the White Agency members in the settlement except the missionaries and one independent individual. On one occasion during a public meeting called by the lady candidate in one of the Federal Election campaigns which have taken place in Keewatin—the Mine interpreter translated the candidate's statement deploring housing conditions and promising to press for improvement—by saying that she had stated that the Eskimo were dirty and disease-ridden and should not be given houses.

The last-mentioned interpreter, the Mine "straw boss" was known for using his strategic position to his own advantage, and as he identified himself very strongly with the White people and made it clear that he regarded himself as superior to the other Eskimo at the same time—he earned for himself a great deal of hostility among the Eskimo people. Most other people called upon to interpret in Rankin Inlet, however, by no means relished the task. It is common for both White people and Eskimo people to take literally and unquestioningly what they are told by the interpreter, and often only the interpreter fully realises the inadequacy of the communication for which he is responsible. Eskimo interpreters usually perform with great reluctance in situations where they are expected to transmit something unpalatable to the Eskimo people. It is felt that part of the dislike aroused by the nature of the message which the interpreter is asked to transmit falls not only upon the original speaker but upon the interpreter himself.[1] Thus it has been noted that missionaries are usually very reluctant to act as interpreters for other White people. Realisation of this was reflected in the incident in a public meeting in the Spring of 1964. A recently-arrived Government officer who had learned the language roughly but fluently when with the Hudson's Bay Company and normally did not hesitate to speak directly with the Eskimo—called upon someone else to interpret for him when in his rôle as Projects Officer responsible for the stimulation of game harvesting, he sought to stimulate the men present by insulting them. When later he delivered himself of a statement likely to be more popular with the Eskimo, he spoke quite readily for himself.

Usually White people who speak the Eskimo language, and are thus normally easier to deal with and through, and equally by their having learned the language are believed

[1] In any such situation where tension was created, the Eskimo tendency to withdraw was strong, and the interpreter could not help feeling involved.

to have some respect for and accord with the Eskimo—are the subject of much favourable comment among the Eskimo, and as they are relatively rare, are much sought-after. Four of the Area Administrators who passed through Rankin Inlet, and six Ottawa Officials heard at different times by the observer—made it clear that they regarded such bilingual White people with suspicion. One Ottawa official also stated this fear that such a person might "go native".

In summary it is suggested that both the degree and the quality of communication between most of the Eskimo and most of the Whites in this acculturation situation—is often quite inadequate. The opportunities for the communication of nuances of meaning and feelings, and the opportunity to establish a more profound level of understanding and accord on both sides—is therefore at this point somewhat limited. Though there are disadvantages to both sides in this situation, it is the Eskimo who are economically and socially more vulnerable, and who are to a greater degree disadvantaged in this contact situation. Thus both from the point of view of the social and emotional impact of cultural devaluation, and from the point of view of the difficulties and limitations created by the inadequacies of communication—the problem of language in the contact process, all aside from the overwhelming philosophical and semantic dissonance between the perceptions of the two cultures—is of enormous significance in the acculturation situation, requiring a great deal more documentation and analysis.

CHAPTER XIV

Societal Shock and Truncation

When an individual is said to be in a state of shock, some aspects of the condition include suspension of activity, disorientation, often inability to articulate and to explain the condition or its causes. The cause is violent physical or mental upheaval. Though not in its extreme form, it can be suggested that a condition of shock at a societal level, existed, by these criteria, among a significant number of the Rankin Inlet Eskimo. In scarcely more than forty years, slightly over a generation, the highly-integrated, self-contained and philosophically and socially whole society of the Eskimo underwent some radical change. The religious system which gave the Eskimo a sense of social integration not only in the physical life but at a metaphysical level too—has largely been dissipated. The sacred occupation which the belief system supported and rationalized and upon which the society depended for survival—hunting—has been secularized and then, in recent decades radically devalued by its inability to sufficiently support the population, due to the decline of game, and further devalued by the appearance in the Eskimo country of apparently more dependable, comfortable and intriguing ways of making a living. The important secular activity which complemented the hunting occupation—trapping—has radically declined in economic and social significance. Though the fur trade and the missionaries significantly re-oriented Eskimo patterns of thought and economic activity, the basic traditional social structure was not catastrophically disrupted. The economic and spiritual motivations of the traders and missionaries, plus the fact that they had more time, caused these early acculturative forces resident in the Arctic to give some appearance of respect for the culture and therefore for the individual who bore it, because all tried to speak the Eskimo language. Then came the rapid and violent changes of the 1950's and 1960's. Game resources became so seriously unavailable in the areas where the inland people were, that starvation occurred on a scale that stimulated the Government to evacuate the population from part of the territory entirely.

For almost twenty years, illness, particularly tuberculosis, was fracturing an increasing number of family units, reducing the ability of people to live in the traditional hunting manner, and by exposure to southern standards of living, radically altering expectations of living standards. Finally, with the build-up of the settlement at Rankin Inlet, the migrant population which came there experienced the vitiation of the significance of

the basic unit of the Eskimo society, the extended family. Working needs, the acquisition of unsharable capital goods, and difficulties in following the traditional patterns of distribution, contributed to the trend toward nuclearity of family units.

Equally significant in this trend has been the dysfunctionalisation of traditional knowledge and cultural patterns, such that the present middle generation is intellectually alienated from the older folk, and the young school children progressively alienated from their parents, while all three generations continue to feel to a more intense extent than ever the need for family solidarity. The ambivalencies created by this situation add to the tensions and uncertainties of the Eskimo in the process of acculturation, and the distortion of traditional values and dysfunctional uses of the social protection response develop. In the present situation, the basic social bond and the vehicle of the Eskimo society's intellectual culture, values and emotions—the language—has been subjected to steady devaluation. Schoolroom-education is seen as the essential hope for "full integration of the Eskimo population in the larger Canadian society," but for all but the children who have started school in the most recent years and those yet to start school, (thus having greater opportunity for full education), aspirations based specifically on education suffer from serious future limitation. Even for those children now going through the schooling system from the basic starting age of six, the prospect of losing almost two years of full education while the pupils learn the main language of instruction—is quite serious. Thus a large segment of the present Keewatin population is alienated from both the past and the future. With the diminishing significance of the extended kinship bonds, with the absence of a sense of inclusion in the larger on-going, infinite network of relationships and support provided by the traditional soul beliefs, and with the employment system based on individual development—the Eskimo who traditionally felt himself to be part of an extensive system of physical and metaphysical supports, is now progressively more isolated in his own personality. By these criteria then, we are able to discern at this time the emergence of the northern social phenomenom which might be called the "Truncated Eskimo".

Means of Group Identification

Offsetting some of these trends is the recent process of broadening perception of the Eskimo people of themselves as a pan-Northern society, and as a group who have been the subject of considerable interest, effort and expenditure by southern Canadians. One very important source of identification with something which is highly valued because it is Eskimo and because it is very widely appreciated—is Eskimo art. An increasing number of Eskimo are sought after by influential people from the south because of the art work they have produced or are expected to produce. The number of high-prestige exhibi-

tions of Eskimo art around the world—is increasing, and Eskimo are beginning to hear of the intense competition among the White people with considerable funds to acquire their art work. Representative Eskimo have been taken south and fêted because of their art work, and accounts of these glittering events have circulated in Keewatin. Local Eskimo are conscious of articles and pictures dealing with their art work appearing in quality magazines, and it is known that the names of individual Eskimo artists are becoming known across the country and internationally. In earlier years, in keeping with their traditional values, Eskimo carvers did not sign their work, but now are strongly encouraged to inscribe their names on the bottom of their sculptures. By no means all Eskimo are artists, though a very large proportion of the Eskimo have considerable manual skill and can produce good-quality handicrafts. Nevertheless, highly qualified experts have been able to say, following detailed examination and analysis of art work produced in Rankin Inlet, that out of the slightly-over-one-hundred Eskimo adults in Rankin Inlet, seventeen may be described at this stage as genuine artists of considerable merit on a level comparable with any artists in Canada.

It is true that most of the Rankin Inlet Eskimo are not as excited by these trends as some southerners expect them to be. Payment for their work is very closely tied to the Government Administration, and in the minds of the Administration, rigidly correlated with the Social Assistance bills. Thus Eskimo are constantly under pressure to accomplish a larger volume of production, (orders still come from the south for "two dozen owls") —and the response on the part of many Eskimo artists is resentment and physical withdrawal. During the winter of 1965, word was circulating among the Keewatin Eskimo that carvings for which the Government paid between fifty and eighty dollars to the Baker Lake Eskimo, were sold in a Government-sponsored exhibition in the south for as much as three hundred dollars and in a few instances, more. Thus though the art work was seen as a potential source of socially effective identification, the purchase and sales system as administrated by the Government, which controlled the Eskimo art work exclusively and rigidly in Rankin Inlet—became a source of some cynicism among a growing number of the Eskimo.

Positive responses to Eskimo social identification have also been evoked by the build-up of Eskimo language broadcasting by the Northern Service of the C.B.C. Eskimo language broadcasting had been going on for some five years by 1965, and though very slow in developing more programmes and acquiring more air-time in the Eskimo language, this service has become highly-valued by the Eskimo, and has contributed to the strengthening of Eskimo group consciousness.

Finally, since 1962, the Eskimo have been placed in the hitherto-unknown position of being wooed by White people for their opinions, and most importantly for their votes, by White politicians. The Eskimo now occasionally receive letters in their language from

the Member of Parliament, seeking their ideas, and observations, and bidding for the retention of their goodwill.

The socio-cultural disintegration trends among the Keewatin Eskimo have been developing over more than a generation. The Keewatin population is growing at a rate such that it is predicted that it will have doubled itself between 1965 and 1980, and economic opportunity remains seriously limited, so that the prospects for an increasing number of Eskimo to live for years on Social Assistance and generally to be socially and economically vulnerable—are still quite large. Whether those few factors which it has been suggested are helping to offset the process of socio-cultural disintegration—will be by themselves sufficient to arrest this process—is questionable.

CHAPTER XV

Common Human Desires

In pursuance of part of the approach used in the Kamsack study, it is intended here to speculate briefly with the notions used by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki in their sociological classic, "*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*" where they suggest that, with the obvious cultural variations, it may be possible to establish the existence of four basic human desires operational in some form in all human societies. Referred to respectively as the desire for response, the desire for recognition, the desire for security, and the desire for new experience—it may be of interest to seek for evidence of these with only a few illustrations possible in these circumstances—under each heading. First the indications of the possible existence of these desires will be examined in the traditional Eskimo setting, and then again in the contemporary setting.

Response

The values attached to and the practice of sharing, in the traditional Eskimo camp society, might be considered a basic form of the desire for response, motivated not only by the warmth of human feeling which the sharing of food in a subsistence society might evoke, but equally by the fact that such responses were also part of a reciprocal pattern behaviour on which the survival of the whole group often depended.

All of the Eskimo groups of Keewatin traditionally practiced the making of songs for entertainment, and to satisfy creative urges. Traditionally, most Eskimo in the Keewatin groups had a repertoire of songs which were either of their own composition, or passed on to them by members of their kin group, in which case a performer always gave credit to the creator of the song before singing it. Some of the songs were part of the folkloric tales and hero sagas which were common knowledge amongst most of the groups. Many more of the songs were extremely poetical evocations of the emotions and observations of the individual who created the song, based on personal experience. Anyone who experienced some particularly notable adventure, usually memorialised this experience in song, which he then performed for his own group and for anyone else on request for the rest of his life. Songs were also made up in moments of poetic inspiration about trivial little incidents, and events, such as for example the sighting of the first flock of geese in the Spring and the thoughts which this evoked. The singing of

these songs was highly valued among the Eskimo people and certain performers, both men and women, enjoyed particular reputation for their repertoire and artistry. One traditionalistic member of the Rankin Inlet community who has for many years been a close companion of the observer still makes up songs, sometimes, he says, several a day, with quick spontaneity and obvious pleasure in the response the song evokes. The researcher has documentation and recordings of well over a hundred songs known by or owned by Rankin Inlet residents.

Joking is a very common and almost continuous phenomenon in the conversation of Eskimo people. The humour is dry, ironic, often self-deprecatory and dry, and very heartily appreciated. The joker usually responds to the laughter his humour arouses with smiles or laughs of pleasure. Puns and plays on words are not infrequent among the Eskimo and witty twisting of meanings and situations is highly appreciated. Smiling, laughter and appearance of happiness is valued by Eskimo people; many informants have said how they feel ill-at-ease with habitually unsmiling and unresponsive people. The strength of the traditional value of frankness can be taken as evidence of the existence among the Eskimo of the desire for response.

Recognition

Because of the necessity for close co-operation in the traditional society, competition for ascendancy was not highly valued, but there is evidence of the existence of a desire for recognition in, for example, the self-celebrating songs which have been mentioned above, and most notably in the exhibitions of the *angatqut*. Almost every camp group had one shaman, and others who aspired to shamandom. Most modern Eskimo informants talking about shamanism speak very little about the metaphysical system of which the most advanced shamans were philosophical exponents—but talk a great deal about their exhibitions. All but the younger adults in Keewatin, especially among the Qairnirmiut and the Aivilimiut—can recount experiences of seeing a shaman grow enormous teeth or full-scale walrus tusks protruding and growing out of their mouths progressively before the eyes of the observers. They talk of shamans who have called upon people to shoot them or harpoon them, and have survived. They talk of the conjuring tricks of shamans who are able to produce objects from the ears and other parts of the body of people, and of shaman who can visit a distant island and return accurately describing the contents of someone's traps there, all within the space of a few hours.

The desire for recognition may also be discerned in the traditional celebration of major hunting successes, when the family of a man who brought home a great deal of food held a banquet, invited all the people in the camp group, and often held a drum dance during which laudatory songs were sung. When a boy kills his first seal or his first

caribou, tradition requires a group celebration wherein everyone is invited to eat part of the kill, songs are sung and all but the young hunter, who eats nothing of his first kill and maintains a modest silence—vocally celebrate this evidence of his manhood. There is no ceremonialisation of puberty among the Eskimo of Keewatin, but the first kill is an important moment of recognition for the young hunter. Various times over the years the observer and his family have been invited to share in the celebratory first-fruits of a young hunter.

Scattered all over the Arctic, and not infrequent in the Keewatin area, are stone cairns, usually on some eminence, which are so built as to resemble at a distance the silhouette of a man. These cairns, known as *inuksut*—meaning "a would-be man" are used sometimes to mark good fishing places, a ford across a stream, the location of food caches, and are used round the ridge of a horseshoe valley as scares to prevent the caribou driven into the blind valley by the Eskimo from escaping before being killed. By no means all *inuksut*—are, however, purely utilitarian. Many have been built by men who have said:

"I built it at a time when I was doing well, when I had some time to spare, with my dwelling full of meat, and I wanted to mark the place where I had been and for other people to know".

The value of respect for the individual, touches upon these *inuksut*, as once they are built, they are never disturbed by the Eskimo.

Security

The operation of two important values in the Eskimo traditional society will suffice, in this report, to stand as evidence for the existence of the desire for security among the Eskimo. The value of sharing and its inveterate practice, and the pattern of using this practice always in the context of small camp groups, plus the fact that it was virtually unknown for Eskimo to live entirely alone or in single family locations—suggest strongly the existence of the basic desire for security among the Eskimo.

The high value attached to seniority again demonstrates a need for security felt among the Eskimo people. This value operated to ensure the care, support, and longer survival of the older people in the Eskimo society after the time when they could fend for themselves. At the same time the experience, knowledge and wisdom of the old people was a valuable element contributing to the security of the extended family and camp group in which they lived.

The importance of shamanism and magic-religious practices among the Eskimo—as means of ensuring their success in the hunt and their safety in all their doings—again demonstrates that their prayerful and taboo-laden modes of seeking support and in-

dulgence from metaphysical sources—were motivated, in the use thus of every possible means for survival—by the desire for security.

The Desire for New Experience

It has been shown that the Eskimo were a nomadic people. In pre-historical time, it is evident that the Eskimo demonstrated a desire for new experience to a dramatic degree—in their readiness to move from known territories, right across the Arctic from Alaska to Greenland, and down the mainland coasts, even into the wooded country along such main rivers as the St. Lawrence, the Moose River draining into James Bay, the Churchill River and the MacKenzie River—until they were driven back by the Indians. Even when the Canadian Eskimo groups established large territories in which they followed semi-nomadic patterns, it was not uncommon for them to depart from their habitual round of camping grounds, and to strike out and seek new camping places.

Again the use of shamanism demonstrates some evidence of the desire among some of the more intellectually active and courageous among the Eskimo for new experience. Some of the shamanistic trances into which practitioners put themselves, would occasionally attain such profundity that respirations would seem to cease almost entirely, and several informants have said that not even the shaman himself knew what would happen to his mind or to his body as a result of these trances.

During the historical periods there were many accounts of the curiosity which the Eskimo demonstrated in their early contacts with the White people. Certainly many Eskimo show more reserve, and tendency to withdraw, and the earliest explorers into Frobisher Bay and Labrador have left accounts of open hostility, but there are more accounts of Eskimo willingly going aboard the enormous and complicated vessels of the White people, (several were even taken to Britain, although the first such instance was under duress), and during the whaling era it became common for Eskimo to sail with the whales as pilots and crew. Early accounts of the Eskimo response to the missionaries, and particularly to the scriptures written in their own language—demonstrate that though for some years, and among many of the people, the beliefs of the Missionaries were not accepted—their theological statements and the biblical narratives were greeted by the more thoughtful Eskimo individuals with considerable intellectual curiosity. These instances may certainly be cited as some evidence for the existence among Eskimo of the desire for new experience.

Contemporary Evidence

The existence of ambivalencies and strains in situations where modern circumstances make the following of the value of sharing difficult or problematical, might well in-

dicate that the desire for response in the traditional context is still pressing upon many Eskimo individuals in the contemporary setting, to the degree that individuals evince emotional distress when this manifestation of the desire cannot be properly enacted. It has been shown that individuals will even sacrifice their jobs rather than perpetuate the emotional distress created by the ambivalencies existing in the contemporary situation, where sharing creates as many problems as it solves. Eskimo have learned that punctuality and dogged industriousness evoke favourable responses from the White people. Some mention of the almost nervous preoccupation with time-watching has been made earlier. Particularly during the time of the Mine, White informants commented on the energy and intense application which the Eskimo applied to the work they did under the supervision of some individual they wished to please or whom they particularly liked. The Mine Manager observed that the Eskimo worked better for foremen who were cheerful, communicative and responsive with the Eskimo than with supervisors who were too serious or withdrawn. The quietness, and even taciturnity, which the Eskimo appeared to prefer in their supervisors, was because of worry about understanding, and the tendency to withdraw from noisy behaviour created tensions, but both Eskimo and White informants commented on the Eskimo preference for people who in some way indicate their feelings and opinions concerning them.

Another indication of the contemporary desire for response among Eskimo in the process of acculturation in Rankin Inlet—is the incidence of gestures of ingratiation. Men who have been harangued by their supervisor for unpunctuality one day have been known to arrive half an hour too early the next. Even small children, criticised for lateness to school one day have been noted waiting to get into school an hour too early the next. There have been instances of Eskimo bringing to White people what they particularly liked, small gifts of fish or meat or handicraft. Both in the traditional setting and in contemporary life, the Eskimo habit of self-deprecation can be interpreted in part as evidence of a desire for response, because the usual rejoinder of the hearers of a self-deprecatory statement, particularly among the Eskimo themselves, is to deny the validity of the original speaker's self-criticism and to follow this with words of praise.

In the modern settlement setting in Rankin Inlet the desire for recognition can be seen in the obvious pride of many individuals in their art work and handicraft work.

In contrast to the traditional times, there are an increasing number of individuals who are ready to accept some rôle of spokesmanship in community affairs, and among some individuals in the community now there exists an increasing degree of actual rivalry for leadership. These and other individuals more frequently preface their statements in public meetings with some description of their work and of their interests, and with the assertion that much of their thinking and doing is on the behalf of their Eskimo neighbours. Among some individuals less naturally assertive, the desire for recognition appears to

be emergent in some instances under the influence of inebriants. Exaggerated gaiety, and heavy-handed gestures of friendliness attract attention, as do in other instances, dramatic demonstrations of misery and self-pity, and in a few instances, of fighting. In play situations, notably at Christmas, Easter, and summer celebrations involving many people, when games and sports are mounted—the majority of the younger men are showing increasing tendency to compete not only, as traditionally simply for the fun, but also with an earnest desire to win. The traditional great concern for the name system and the importance attached to names still has its counterpart in contemporary intergroup social relations. Many Eskimo informants have verbalised their resentment of the tendency of White people to misrender their names, and not to consider the proper use of the proper Eskimo name as important. On first contact, many of the more self-confident Eskimo will correct and drill a White person in the correct pronunciation of their name repeatedly, until satisfied that they have it as right as can be hoped for.

Until 1960 ago very few Eskimo signed their names on the bottom of their carvings, unless specifically asked to do so by a White purchaser. Many carvers still only write on their names because they know the White people expect it of them, but some of the carvers who are conscious of their increasing reputation, take great care about the inscribing of their names under the carving and in many cases, moreover, write in their Eskimo registration number (an administrative device originally introduced to facilitate the issuance of family allowance)—to make sure that their name may not be confused with some other person of the same name.

The desire for security in the modern era has been very dramatically demonstrated by the Eskimo, by the wide-spread tendency of the Eskimo to leave the traditional camping and hunting life and to move into the larger settlements. Many Eskimo say that they have been motivated to do this because they feel more secure where they may receive medical attention, where there are opportunities of receiving employment and help, improve their material security, and where their children can acquire the education they need to ensure the security of their old parents and of themselves. Some reference has been made earlier to the very high preponderence of Rankin Inlet Eskimo of all dialect groups who preferred, mainly for reasons of security, the new settlement-based wage employed way of life. In terms of social relations, the pattern of non-assertion, compromise and ingratiation or apology also demonstrate the Eskimo desire to avoid upsetting whatever they may consider to be positive in their current situation in order to maximise the securities that it offers.

The existence of a desire for new experience among the Eskimo has already been mentioned in the context of Eskimo response to missionary religious teaching, and the prevalent enthusiasm for education. Reference has been made to the readiness of a large number of Eskimo Mine employees to seek for more interesting and better-paying jobs

in the Mine organisation, and (though some had little or no choice)—the fact that many Eskimo came in voluntarily from all over Keewatin to find work and new patterns of existence in Rankin Inlet is itself some evidence of a readiness for new experience among some of the Keewatin Eskimo. Since the Mine closed down, there have been migrations of Eskimo workers and their families not only to various points in the North where wage employment was available, but also in such non-Eskimo territory settings as Lynn Lake and Thompson.

The almost universal enthusiasm of the Eskimo people for the movies might be taken partly as mere curiosity, a need to pass the time, or a need for a form of escape, but certainly curiosity and the mental process of some extent of vicarious participation which occurs during movie-watching—can be said in some way to be evident of one form of the desire for new experience. This too may be seen in the large number of people who attended political meetings during the Federal Election campaigns which have effected this part of the north and too, the remarkably heavy vote which occurred on the polling days.

During the winter of 1964–65—the Principal of the day school held twice-weekly night classes for adults, with the principal subject being the geography, history and political organisation of Canada, all taught with the use of an interpreter. Eighteen adults registered for this course, half of the group being made up of married couples, and attendance throughout the course was averagely ninety-five percent. It is of interest to note that only one individual in this group was under thirty, the majority of the students being members of the senior grandparental generation. The most faithful attender, a man who frequently visits the researcher, and during the course interestedly discussed what he was learning—is a very traditionalistic old pensioner from the remote Uqusissalimiut group, long considered to be one of the oldest men in Keewatin.

Finally, the Eskimo desire for new experience can be demonstrated in the proceedings of the meetings reported earlier, when attempts were made to organise and develop a Community Association. Several Eskimo spokesmen spoke strongly against the desire of the Government representatives who sought to set up a racially separate organisation, saying that they could only fully learn the procedures of such forms of community organisation by being allowed to participate along with the Whites and saying that they were prepared to put up with the consequences of not being able to understand everything that was going on, in that it would still be a more fruitful and interesting experience than being socially encapsulated in an exclusively Eskimo organisation. It was noted that when the very-heavily attended meeting was asked to vote on separated or integrated Community organisation, the show of hands produced only two Eskimo in favour of separation.

CHAPTER XVI

The Non-community

It may be appropriate in this final section to repeat the definition offered earlier of the "community", as a relatively small human aggregation with an inter-related and functional range of common identifications and interests. Its people are physically located around a small geographic area and are activated by a relatively large degree of shared economic, cultural and organisational needs, which normally motivate various forms of group action to met these needs. It is suggested that by this definition at least, Rankin Inlet could not be considered to have reached the point where it can be sociologically described as a "community".

What we have observed in Rankin Inlet is the phenomenon of a relatively small, rapidly-changing, and somewhat unintegrated White group, in economic, social, spiritual, and, to an increasing extent, even cultural command of a relatively larger group of Eskimo who themselves are socially somewhat unintegrated, and in a process of rather rapid cultural disintegration. Though we have observed a few beginnings of slackening in the rigidity of the Eskimo dialect-group exclusiveness, these categories do remain implicit and not unsignificant in the minds of the Eskimo population, and overlaying all this are the divisions created by the Christian Churches. In a social situation among the Eskimo where family nuclearity and personal individuation is increasingly emphasised, and in the situation of economic dependency in which most of the Eskimo find themselves, many of the most practical and demanding relationships are directly between the Eskimo individuals and the Government officers, the commercial interests, and the missions, while social relations among the Eskimo themselves are less clearly articulated, less definable, less functionally justifiable, and more strained in some traditional habits of social relationship. The practical importance and urgent nature of the relationships between the Eskimo individuals and the White people who affect their lives thus tends to deflect the attention of Eskimo people away from total-community patterns of thinking.

The dominant element in the settlement was itself very rigidly divided by the definitions and the policies which the various White agencies established for themselves, in which, for example, some care was taken to emphasise and clarify the degree of differentiation. Each of the separate agencies exerted a great deal more authority over that part of the Eskimo lives for which they considered themselves responsible than the Eskimo

did themselves, and the Department of Northern Affairs felt itself responsible for the concerns of all of the agencies, as well as the smooth technical operation of the settlement, the efficient administration of its proliferating problems of accountancy, and every aspect of the affairs of the Eskimo.

The representatives of each one of these agencies constantly and very justifiably insisted, that they were the lowest point on a long scale of authority which extended out of and far beyond the settlement, such that while the authority which the local representatives of the agencies appeared to have seemed large, in fact their doings were governed by powers not intimately acquainted with the situation. Certainly for the Government officers, who were made to feel responsible nevertheless, for everything that went on in the settlement, there was a serious problem of dissipation of their energies and alienation of their interests from the local setting, because of the policy insistance of the Administration that the system is superordinate in importance to the vagaries of the local situation. One phrase used repeatedly, and quite seriously, without irony, by a Rankin Inlet Area Administrator was:

"I would like to have a greater hand in deciding local matters on their individual merits, I would like to use Government funds more for work which obviously needs to be done but which cannot be ordered on my authority, I would like to use the Government system and funds to create more money-earning opportunities and reduce Relief, I would like greater flexibility in the Social Assistance system, so that I can meet the greatest need more substantially than I am at present permitted to do—but we must serve our masters".

Thus the authority of the dominant element of the community, rigidly regulated at the same time by higher and much more remote authority—did help to inhibit and limit the scope for genuine and full local community development. In the realm of municipal services normally provided by and governed by local residents—there was little room for initiative on the part of local people, as those that were available were already provided by the Government.

It has already been shown that the traditional patterns of life of the Eskimo, in the small camp groups—provided them with no experience for macro-social self-organisation. Thus the Eskimo depended heavily on the Whites for guides in this regard, and the pattern was for the White authorities, earlier the Mine, and then the Government—to retain the initiative and not to provide full or properly-articulated and understood training or genuine experience in local self-government. The Department of Northern Affairs created what it called a "Community Development Fund", but hedged it with a number of regulations upon which depended their readiness to make the funds available. If a greater degree of initiative had been given to the Eskimo in the providing, for example, of local services, they would have been seriously inhibited by lack of funds. Thus

they had further recourse to the Whites, and this in turn returned initiative to the White people. The turnover of White staff, their first loyalty to exterior authority, the rigid and formal divisiveness of the White agencies, and the formal controls which the agencies maintain in their dealings with the Eskimo—all were inhibitants to natural and vigorous community development. At the same time, informal inhibitants occurred in the shape of the stereotypic pattern of ethnic confrontation, the difficulties of communication, the spectrum of cultural dissonances, the persistance of the more passive traditional values, their distortions, and certain aspects of the social protection response.

It is believed that even with the incomplete nature of the observations which have been made here under a need for brevity—there are some indications that a sense of "community" and community-oriented action associated with that sense, does not necessarily develop organically or spontaneously among the population of a new settlement in the Arctic established by southern interests amidst a pre-literate indigenous people, even when profound acculturative forces carried with the representatives of the southern interests confront the majority of the people with similar power, this lack of cohesion being particularly notable where on both sides, in-group heterogeneity is a significant factor.

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